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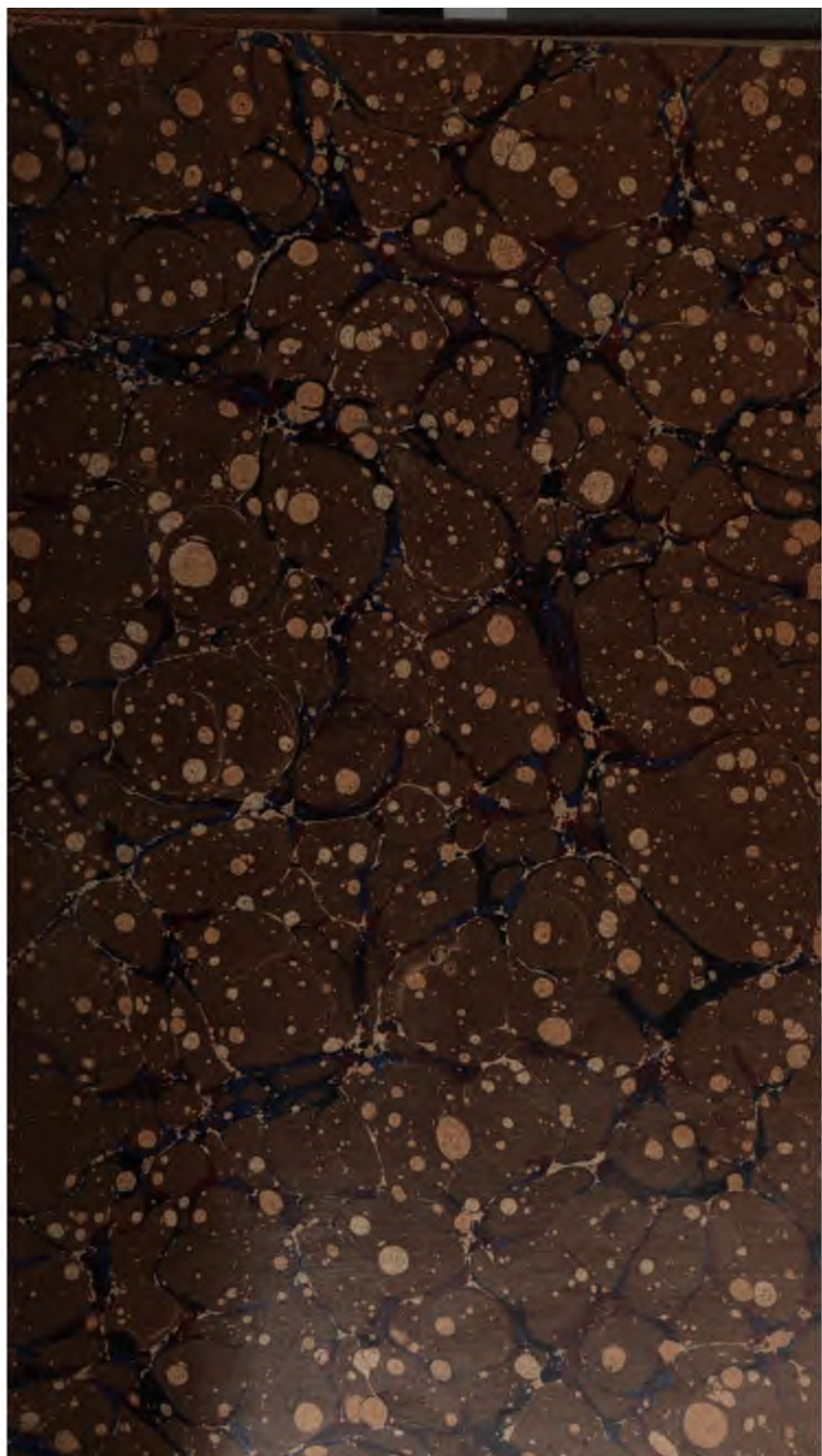


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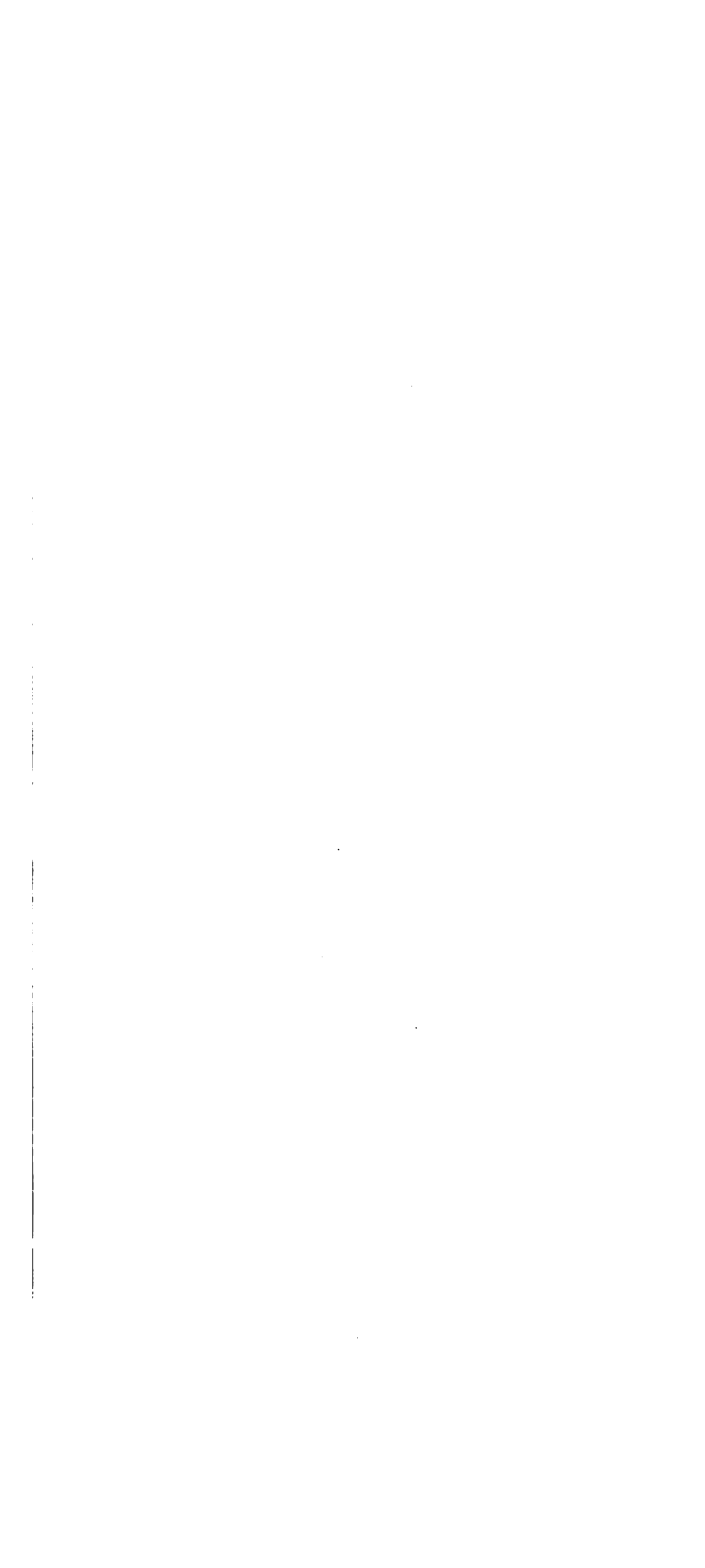
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1 American Antiquarian
2095 H 6374
VOL. VI.

NEW SERIES.

PART 1.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 24, 1889.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,
311 MAIN STREET.
1889.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.

NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES DEANE.*

CHARLES A. CHASE.

*Died, Nov. 13, 1889.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VI.

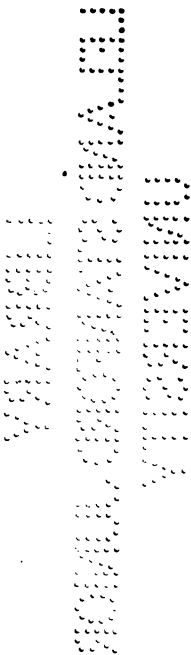
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1890.

554

PRESS OF
CHAS. HAMILTON,
WORCESTER,
MASS.



NOTE.

The Sixth Volume, New Series, of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, includes reports of the stated meetings in April, 1889 and 1890, and of the annual meeting in October, 1889, together with the action of the Council on the death of their associate, Charles Deane, LL.D.; also a List of Members of the Society, and an Index to the volume.

The essays furnished by members of the Council, in connection with the Council reports, are by the Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, on the Christian Religion and the Common Law; by the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, on The Farmer's Weekly Museum; and by the Hon. John D. Washburn, on the Foundation of the Swiss Republic. A portion of the report of the Council at the meeting in April last, was prepared by J. Evarts Greene, Esq.

Other contributions were furnished by Prof. Edward Channing, Prof. Frederick W. Putnam, Prof. Henry W. Haynes, the Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, James F. Hunnewell, Esq., the Hon. John T. Doyle, the Rev. Edward G. Porter, Andrew McFarland Davis, Esq., and President Salisbury,—with Scientific papers by Prof. Leonard P. Kinnicutt, of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and Dr. Franz Boas, of Clark University.

The publication of the third part was delayed to allow of the preparation of the Index.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

WORCESTER, Oct., 1890.

ERRATA.

Page 31, line 20, for *Carlisle* read *Carlile*.

Page II., line 22, for *Washington* read *Boston*.

Page VII., line 49, for *Ph.D.* read *LL.D.*

Page 240, line 1 n, for *Vulliemin* read *Vulliemin*.

Page 257, line 6, for *Erving* read *Erving*.

Page 277, line 16, for *Thwaite* read *Thwaites*.

Page 297, line 4, for *McKinney* read *McKenney*.

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 24, 1889, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership) : George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, George S. Paine, William A. Smith, Charles H. Bell, Henry M. Dexter, James F. Hunnewell, John D. Washburn, Thomas W. Higginson, Edward H. Hall, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Horatio Rogers, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Henry H. Edes, Lucien Carr, Grindall Reynolds, John M. Merriam.

THE RECORDING SECRETARY read the records of the previous meeting, which were approved. The same officer said : "I would add a single word to this record, which is not properly a matter to be recorded, but of interest to the Society. It will be remembered that Mr. Gladstone was elected a member of the Society, at a meeting eighteen months ago. Mr. Gladstone, having been duly notified of his nomination, failed by a curious combination of circumstances, as he was leaving the country, to receive the notice of his election until a considerably later day, but, on receiving notice, he very gracefully, and with grateful acknowledgment, recognized and accepted the honor which this Society had bestowed."

The Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH read the report which had been prepared by him, and adopted by the Council, as a part of their report.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, and Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, Librarian, read their reports.

Rev. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D., made the following motion :—

“I move you, Sir, the acceptance of these reports, as together constituting the report of the Council, and their reference to the Committee of Publication. I am sure that all members of my profession will be exceedingly grateful for the light so clearly, and simply and forcefully thrown on the important matter which has been discussed; and I was very glad indeed, to hear what Judge ALDRICH closed with, and want to make a suggestion, if he will pardon me. In the further elaboration of the paper, it seems to me that a reference might be made in a note, or otherwise, to the relation which sprung up in Elizabeth’s time between the Catholic questions and the subject of treason, so that to be a Catholic was about the same thing in England as to be a traitor, which made the profession of the Catholic faith really the avowal of treason. That is a subject which is not understood, I think, at all, and which throws a good deal of light upon the real force and *animus* of the persecution of the Catholics. We can not understand Guy Fawkes’s day at all. We can not understand the feeling we have all seen manifested in England, on that day in November; we can not understand why all English people should be so furiously enraged about that day. Then to be a Romanist was to be a subject of the Pope, which meant to be traitor to England, so that a good loyal Englishman then must hate the Catholics. Then again later, —I hope the Judge will shed a little light upon the relation of the famous maxim of King James of the relation of dissent to good citizenship. His opinion was that there could not be a king without a bishop, and that to be a dissenter

was practically to be a traitor, to be a subverter of the civil government; and his elaboration of that idea, and the intensity with which he pursued it, explains the martyrdom of many of the poor fellows who suffered for non-conformity. The same idea in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, explains the sufferings of Barrow and Greenwood and those men; and the same thing came over to this side to explain what our fathers did toward Roger Williams. I merely suggest these as topics on which we should be exceedingly grateful to have Judge ALDRICH shed all the light he can easily do when he elaborates his paper further."

The Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., in seconding the motion of Dr. Dexter, said:—"I think Mr. Barton may possibly be glad to say in a foot-note that the whole of my little sketch of which he speaks, was studied in the library of the Society. It would have been perfectly impossible to write it without the library's collections; and while I do not think that the absolute manuscript was written there, I am very sure that every authority which was selected there, was selected with the invaluable assistance of Mr. Haven, with the same assistance from Mr. Haven on matters of archæological interest."

The Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR said:—"Mr. President: I was impressed by the suggestion of Mr. BARTON in his report, of the desirableness of making complete as far as possible, the collections of the Society of the matter in regard to the history of the American Foreign Missions. Of course everybody knows that the history will be more or less preserved by the American Board, and, at the same time, there is a good deal that might be called romance connected with the labors of our devoted and zealous and able missionaries abroad, which is in danger of being forgotten, from the fact that the actors in these important events, as often happens, are unconscious themselves how interesting what they have done is to persons who see it from a distance. It will be remembered with what interest

we read some years ago, the account of the contest between the American missionaries in Athens and the Greek government, in regard to the title to the property of Dr. King's school, I think it was, and the very able service rendered by our lamented associate, the Hon. GEORGE P. MARSH, who repaired to Athens from his post at Constantinople, and gave personal direction and oversight to the conduct of the litigation in the courts, which his knowledge of the language, and his easy acquisition of all the legal principles of jurisprudence of that country, enabled him to do—and conducted the whole affair to a triumphant success. I was exceedingly interested and delighted the other day in Washington with the opportunity of a brief conversation with a gentleman, who, after a life of very distinguished service abroad, is coming home to spend his old age, and has done this Society the honor of joining it, The Rev. CYRUS HAMLIN, who is now present. He was in Washington interested in the matter pending between Turkey and this country, in regard to which he was able to give to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of the Senate of the United States, information which probably no other person could have given; and he gave me a very brief, but succinct account of his struggles with the Turkish government at the time of the foundation and establishment of Robert College; and I for one, would be very much delighted if our associate would put the history of that most interesting negotiation and transaction into writing as a paper for the Society, and communicate it to us at some future day. It would be a matter, I am sure, we should all be delighted to have preserved, and which the Society would be delighted to be the instrument of preserving."

Rev. Dr. HAMLIN :—"Mr. President and gentlemen, I should be very glad to do that and deposit it as a manuscript in the library. I do not think it is exactly safe to publish it, because it is involved in such a very singular,—I might say quite romantic manner, with the measures and

opinions and marvellous dispensations of the distinguished members of the Ottoman Porte, the Turkish government. They are amusing to me at the present time ; and I narrated them only very briefly and partially to Senator HOAR, but I shall be glad to deposit such a paper in the archives of this Society which may be of interest some time hence."

Rev. Dr. ELLIS :—" A single word, Mr. President, on the point which Dr. DEXTER has so happily presented. I think that in our past history, from the Reformation in England to that in our own country, there are many errors of judgment affecting the minds of many persons who have confounded bigotry with a regard for civil order. As Dr. DEXTER stated it, after Queen Elizabeth had become established on the throne and the rude principle of the Reformation was acknowledged,—that the Pope had no jurisdiction in England,—any representative of his was a traitor, whether he was a heretic or not. The point settled by statute and parliament was that a representative of the Pope was a traitor to the monarch and people of England. That cannot be called bigotry ; it must be called a regard to civil order ; and I think that many of the persecuting acts of our own ancestors were with regard, not to stifling variances of opinion, but to protect from sedition and anarchy. While I am up, Mr. President, I should like to ask a question : I have heard it more than once asserted, but have never been able to verify it, that John Quincy Adams, when a member of Congress, said that by our constitution no prelate of the Roman church had a right to enter this country, receiving honors and titles and owning allegiance to a foreign power. Certainly if the honored ex-president was right in making that statement, a cardinal of the Roman *curia* would have no legal constitutional right in this country. He directly owes allegiance to a foreign power. He is a member of a court, liable to be summoned for action there. He is not a full citizen of the United States, but only assumes a qualified citizenship ; he receives a hat and formal honors sent

by the Pope directly and by the Roman court. Now I would not vouch for the statement that John Quincy Adams ever uttered such a remark. Perhaps Senator HOAR could inform me if he has ever heard it or if there is any authority for such a statement, but it involves the same principle which Dr. DEXTER has asked our Society to request Judge ALDRICH to elaborate,—the distinction between matters connected with religion which involve civil order and those which simply concern opinion.”

Mr. HOAR, being asked if he had ever heard of the remark, and if he thought John Quincy Adams ever made it, said he had not heard it, and should think, if it were made, it must be with some qualification.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., said :—“ Mr. President, I wish to say a word in regard to the library of the Society. The librarian spoke in a very modest way about the assistance which was rendered to the gentlemen who wrote chapters for the history of the town and city of Worcester which forms a part of the new History of Worcester County, just issued. That portion of the History of Worcester County was prepared, in so far as the historical matter in it is concerned, under the supervision of a committee consisting of three members of the Council of this Society; and as chairman of that committee, I should like to state that the information obtained from the library of the American Antiquarian Society was indispensable in the preparation of the different parts of the work. Our associate, Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE, told me that he received much assistance there in writing the military history of Worcester. Rev. Dr. HALE, who wrote of the connection of Worcester with the Kansas movement,—in which he, himself, took an important part,—also says that he could not have written his article had it not been for the material which he found in the Society’s library. Several of the other writers have said the same thing to me, and have acknowledged their

indebtedness in the papers which they prepared ; but I have particularly in mind the chapters which were written by Mr. Charles G. Washburn. These contain an elaborate and thorough history and account of the present condition of the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Worcester. It has been for a long time considered very important that that portion of the history of Worcester should be written. Mr. Washburn took hold of the matter in the proper spirit and has done justice to the subject. His work was of such a kind that he had to employ somebody to go through all the volumes of the sets of the *Massachusetts Spy* and of the *Worcester Daily Spy*. You will all remember that the former is the oldest existing paper in Massachusetts, and that our Society possesses nearly perfect sets of the volumes of both the papers. Mr. Washburn also made great use of our set of directories and of a large amount of other printed material, so that it is evident that, in doing his work, as has happened on several occasions recently in regard to other important historical work, our library has been of very great value. I will also say in regard to the paper which I myself wrote for the History of Worcester respecting the public libraries of that place, that I was astonished at the amount of manuscript material, in the form of record books, catalogues, etc., which I found in our collection in regard to those earlier libraries of Worcester, which have now passed out of existence. The fact that I had access to that material made my paper much more valuable than it could otherwise have been. While I am on my feet, Mr. President, perhaps it would be well to say to the members of this Society, that in the paper on the libraries of Worcester, is a somewhat brief but comprehensive and, I hope, accurate and discriminating history and description of the library of this Society, brought up to date."

Rev. Dr. PEABODY :—" Mr. President, I want to say a word with reference to the *dictum* of John Quincy Adams, or what was said to have been his, quoted by Dr. ELLIS. I

do not know whether John Quincy Adams said that or not, although I have seen or heard it reported; but what I want to say is, that the Constitution of New Hampshire, adopted I think in 1781, provided that only Protestants should be office-holders in the State of New Hampshire. That Constitution was revised by a Convention held in 1850, and an effort was made to expunge that article from the Constitution; but it was not then expunged. I have no doubt it has been abolished since. I have not kept up my knowledge of New Hampshire politics for twenty-five years or more; but the ground on which the Convention of 1850 refused to expunge that article was simply this: that all Roman Catholics owed allegiance to a foreign power. I would suggest, however, that this ground has ceased to exist since the Pope ceased to be a sovereign,—since the civil power of the Roman See was abolished."

Judge ALDRICH:—"Mr. President, I think sometimes the practical working of the law better illustrates what the law really is than can possibly be done by any merely theoretical speculations. I should be sorry as one of the members of this Society to have it proclaimed as the opinion or belief of the Society that there is any want of loyalty or fidelity on the part of any intelligent American Catholic citizens of this country to our government. There is a perfectly clear line of distinction between the civil power, between the law of the country, and ecclesiastical law or authority. A case was recently tried in the courts in this city, in which the plaintiff was a Catholic priest and the defendant was a Catholic archbishop. The plaintiff complained that he had been unjustly deprived of his faculties, as they called it, *i. e.*, of the right to exercise his offices as priest; and he brought an action against the archbishop of this diocese, for damages. Now there was no interference whatsoever from the court of Rome, or from any other Catholic authority anywhere, against the exercise of the powers of a Massachusetts Court to try, to decide, and to execute

judgment in that case; and that is civil government. But, in the course of the trial, it appeared distinctly that the plaintiff in that suit, the priest, if he was dissatisfied with the decision of the archbishop, had a right to appeal to the highest authorities of the church in this country, and if he was not satisfied with the judgment of that higher tribunal here,—the highest in this country,—he had a right to appeal to Rome, and the defendant would be obliged to follow him to Rome and try the case there. But that had reference wholly to the power of the church over the priest as an ecclesiastic, and it is no interference whatsoever with the civil authority of Massachusetts to deal with every citizen, Catholic or otherwise, who happens to be here and who appeals to our courts for redress for any civil injury that he receives either at the hands of an archbishop or cardinal; and in that sense I think there is no inconsistency, and there is no claim on the part of the church to interfere with the civil affairs or administration of our government. And we all remember that most extraordinary discussion which occurred after the publication of the encyclical letter of 1870, between Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman and Cardinal Manning, and perhaps some other Catholic authorities in England on the subject. After the promulgation of the dogma or doctrine of infallibility, Mr. Gladstone took the ground that that did, or might involve necessarily a conflict between the duty of a citizen or a subject of Queen Victoria and his duty to the Pope. But it will be recollected that Cardinal Manning and Cardinal Newman both strenuously contested that position, and insisted upon it that there was no inconsistency between the two things; and I remember that in closing his most remarkable discussion on the subject of conscience, in which he asserted the right of private judgment, Cardinal Newman said, ‘I add one remark; certainly, if I am obliged to bring religion into after-dinner toasts (which indeed does not seem quite the thing), I shall drink,—to the Pope, if you please,—still, to

conscience first, and to the Pope afterwards.' That is, he insisted upon it, that his duty as a citizen of Great Britain, to the Crown and Government of England might under the law of conscience be superior to his duty to the Pope."

Senator HOAR :—" I was about to ask Dr. ELLIS whether the observation of Mr. Adams was not probably the statement that a Roman cardinal could not hold office in the United States, simply under the constitutional provision which is well known, that no person holding any office of profit or of trust under the United States shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state. I should think it probable that Mr. Adams must have said that a person accepting that title from the Pope could not retain an office under the United States after it."

Dr. ELLIS :—" I said that I did not know that he made that remark. I quoted it in doubt, saying that I heard it attributed to him, but I did not know in what sense or with what qualification it might have been attributed to him."

The motion of Rev. Dr. DEXTER was put and carried.

Senator HOAR :—" I beg leave to move a resolution that the Society accept with extreme pleasure the proposal of the Rev. Dr. HAMLIN to prepare for the archives of the Society an account of the foundation of Robert College and the proceedings of the Turkish Government in regard thereto."

THE PRESIDENT :—" I have no doubt gentlemen, it is extremely agreeable to you to meet personally face to face a gentleman with whom you have all been acquainted so long. The motion of Senator HOAR is before the meeting."

Hon. EDWARD I. THOMAS :—" I have had very great admiration for the College, for I understood the influence of that institution on affairs in the East; and I think no student of history could ever forgive this Society and those who could reach Dr. HAMLIN, if the means of such information

could not be had. The rise of civil and religious liberty in south-eastern Europe and western Asia owes more to that institution probably, than to any other source except perhaps the influence of that band of men who have represented this country in the East, at Constantinople and other places, who have done so much to shape public opinion in reference to education out of which will rise civil and religious liberty that will have great influence in all the affairs of the East, and which will make the English tongue, possibly, the language of diplomacy all over the East."

The motion of Mr. HOAR was unanimously carried.

THE SECRETARY :—"There is a brief communication from the Council. No candidates for membership are recommended at the present time. Upon the subject-matter of an amendment of the by-laws, referred to the Council at the last meeting, they have come to a conclusion slightly different from that to which they had come just before the annual meeting. The recommendation which they instruct me to communicate to the Society is, that the by-laws be so amended as to read that the annual meeting of the Society shall be held every year at the library of the Society in Worcester, on the 21st day of October, and when the same falls on Sunday or Monday, the meetings shall be held on a day to be fixed by the Council; and the semi-annual meeting shall be held in Boston on the last Wednesday in April. The October meeting has not been previously fixed at any definite day of the week, because it was held as a recognition of the discovery of America by Columbus. If the 21st of October fell on Sunday, the meeting was held on the Monday following; and if it fell on Monday it was so held. But some of the members having brought it to the attention of the Council that they could not reach the place of meeting with any convenience, for the Monday meeting, unless they left home on Saturday, which was a serious matter; it seemed

proper to the Council that the change should be made, preserving the Columbus idea as far as possible. If we had departed from that, we should have said the third Wednesday in October and left it there, but the wish was, of course, to preserve the Columbus idea, and so by a natural course of reasoning we said, as long as it is Wednesday for the April meeting, we will call it Wednesday for the October meeting, when the 21st falls on Sunday or Monday."

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., made the following announcement in behalf of the Council:—

With a communication dated January 15, 1889, the executors of the will of Judge FRANCIS H. DEWEY handed to the President of this Society the sum of \$2,000, the amount of a bequest which, as has been before announced, our late associate had made to the Society. The paragraph in the will relating to the gift reads as follows:—

"I give to the American Antiquarian Society the sum of Two Thousand Dollars, the same to be invested and the income thereof to be applied to the purchase of the biographies and the miscellaneous writings of distinguished Judges and Lawyers."

In acceptance and acknowledgment of this gift the Council recommends to the Society to pass the following resolutions:—

1. The American Antiquarian Society accepts gratefully the legacy of \$2,000, received from the executors of the late Honorable FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY, and agrees to invest the principal of the bequest and spend the income in accordance with the testator's will.

2. The members of the Society recognize the thoughtfulness and generosity of their late associate in his kind remembrance of the Society, and are especially pleased to have received a gift from a friend all of whose bequests were made to organizations and in furtherance of objects that were particularly dear to his heart.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, A.M., read a paper on "Illustrated Americana." The President expressed the wish of the Society that Mr. HUNNEWELL should continue his paper at a future meeting, and pursue the discussion of the subject to the present time.

The RECORDING SECRETARY presented and read a paper which had been sent by Hon. John T. Doyle of California, accompanying a chart by Miguel Costanzo, 1770, the gift of Prof. George Davidson. The Secretary added:—"Some five years ago I visited these places myself, and made such observations as a layman to those topics can, and the result of my observation was a satisfactory confirmation of my previous impressions which have now been verified by this and Prof. Davidson's communication."

Mr. WINSOR:—"Does Col. WASHBURN understand where that map is found, or whether it is a copy made from the printed copy, the engraved copy, or the original?"¹

Col. WASHBURN:—"I do not understand anything further than the statement made there,—that he had had access to the printed copy and had this photograph made from a tracing of that."

THE PRESIDENT:—"I hold in my hands, gentlemen, a communication from a gentleman not a member of the Society, which has been prepared at the request of the members of the Society, particularly of Prof. PUTNAM, and it is upon a subject which has interested those who are concerned in the archæological department certainly, in refer-

¹ Mr. Winsor in a subsequent examination of the tracing found that it was made from the large engraved map, published in London, 1790, as a part of an *Historical Journal of the Expedition, by sea and land, to the north of California, in 1768, 1769 and 1770*. . . . *From a Spanish MS.* [by Miguel Costanzo], translated by William Revelly, Esq. Published by Dalrymple, in quarto. Professor Davidson may have found the map disjoined from the book; and it may have been issued separately as well as in the book, of which last a copy is in Harvard College Library.

ence to the sources from which the ornaments of Asiatic origin called nephrite and jadeite have come,—because they have been found in various parts of Mexico and in other parts of this country in a worked state ; and Prof. PUTNAM was anxious to have an analysis made of some of those specimens that are readily obtainable, and this analysis has been made by Leonard P. Kinnicutt, Doctor of Philosophy and Professor of Chemistry at the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. The paper is short, and I think interesting, and I will present it to the Society. The title is ‘Nephrite and Jadeite.’”

All communications and papers, which had been read, were by vote referred to the Committee of Publication.

Adjourned.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE total of the investments belonging to the Society, together with the cash on hand April 1, 1889, was \$107,841.98. These investments have been so judiciously made by our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, that their market value on the day named was \$118,652.98.

The committee of the Council appointed to examine the library found it in a highly satisfactory condition. The progress on the card catalogue is such as to promise the completion of that indispensable auxiliary to the library at no distant period. The steady increase in the use of the library by historical and antiquarian scholars furnishes evidence that the value of its treasures, to original investigators, is becoming better known and appreciated every year. The number of givers and the total of gifts received during the last six months, as will be shown by the Librarian's Report, indicate no abatement in the popular favor with which our library is regarded. Mr. Reuben Colton, who entered the library as an assistant eleven years ago, and who has shown great aptitude and skill, and rare intelligence in library work, has recently resigned his position for the purpose of entering with others into an important business enterprise in the city of Worcester. He carries with him the cordial respect of the Council and of all other members of the Society who have known him and the extent and value of the services he has performed in behalf of the Society.

The reports of the Treasurer and Librarian are referred to for detailed information, and they make part of the Report of the Council.

No vacancy in the membership of the Society has been caused by death during the last six months. Information of the decease of a foreign member, which occurred in 1886, has been received since the publication of the last annual Report of the Council.

Governor Arturo Shiels was born of humble parentage on the Island of Carmen, Yucatan, in 1835. He manifested in his youth a notable determination to avail himself of every opportunity for intellectual improvement that the public schools offered, and his energy and capacity soon brought him deserved recognition. He was made Jefe Politico of the department, Colonel of the National Guards, Senator to the Congress of Mexico, and Governor of the State of Campeche. He was an active republican partisan during the struggle with imperialism in Mexico, and sought such positions as would enable him to do the most service rather than those that would give him the most advantage or honor.

During the terrible strife between liberalism and imperialism which antagonized friends and relations against each other in bitter strife, Señor Shiels occupied the responsible position of Secretary of the State of Campeche for the liberal party.

The *Eco del Comercio* of Merida, Yucatan, thus speaks of his character. "In the public offices which he filled, he possessed a fidelity to duty from which it was impossible to cause him to swerve. Neither personal interest, the compromises of party, the motives of family connection nor those of friendship or gratitude were sufficient to move him from what his conscience dictated. His firmness and inflexibility were carried to such an extreme as to occasion great and unjustifiable misunderstandings. But this is no new experience for those who have passed through a struggle where social interests are arrayed against each other, and like others who sought to comply strictly with

his obligations, in place of applause he received much unmerited hatred."

Among the works which Governor Shiels specially promoted were the railroad from the City of Campeche to Merida, Yucatan, the erection of a theatre, the establishment of two public parks and a market, and an increase in the number of public schools.

The office held by Señor Shiels at the time of his death was that of Administrator of the Custom House of the Island of Carmen, and the high respect in which he was held by his contemporaries was shown by the very general manifestation of grief shown at his funeral. He died after an illness, attended with much suffering, of more than a year's duration, at his home on the Island of Carmen, November 23, 1886, in the fifty-second year of his age.

For the Council,

P. EMORY ALDRICH.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND THE COMMON LAW.

BY F. KENNY ALDRICH.

WHILE looking through some volumes of English Chancery Reports recently, I came upon the report of a cause, heard before Lord High Chancellor Eldon, in the year 1817, which, beyond the questions directly involved in the case, possesses something of permanent and historical interest. In form the pleadings consisted of what is known to equity lawyers as an information and bill, prosecuted in the name of the attorney-general: and in that particular case, the prosecution was for the purpose of quieting the possession of the relator and plaintiff: one claiming as surviving trustee, the other as minister of a protestant dissenting meeting-house. The pleadings, including the information, bill, and answer, are voluminous: but it would be quite aside from my purpose and wholly unnecessary to give any general analysis of the pleadings or to state all the questions they present. There were two subjects discussed by the learned counsel, Sir Samuel Romilly and his associates for the plaintiffs, and by the Solicitor-General for the time being, and the eminent civilian, Phillimore, for the respondents, which give to the cause, as I have said, something of historical value and interest. The first of those subjects was the English statutes of toleration, and the second is involved in the question: "Does the Christian religion form part of the common law of England, or does the common law take cognizance of offences against the Christian religion? and if so, to what extent and upon what principle?" The remaining pages of this report will be devoted mainly to answering these questions. To show how the discussion

of these subjects became pertinent to the practical issues of the cause, some reference to the pleadings is necessary. With other averments of the information and bill, it was stated that about one hundred and fifty years before the institution of the suit, a meeting-house, or place of worship for Protestant Dissenters from the established church, was erected at Wolverhampton; and, as well at the time of erecting the same, as from time to time thereafter, various grants and pecuniary bequests and other endowments had been made thereto by different persons for the purpose of supporting a minister, and of defraying the expenses of maintaining the church and for other purposes of like nature. The particular meeting-house which was the subject matter of controversy in the suit, was erected in 1701, in place of a more ancient one, and under a trust-deed, whereby the purpose was declared to be, "for the worship and service of God." The legal title to this meeting-house and other property connected with it was vested in trustees for the purposes aforesaid, and declarations of trust thereof were duly executed by the trustees. Additional averments set forth that the meeting-house was originally built by Protestant Dissenters, professing Trinitarianism, and for many years such principles were professed by the subscribers and congregation assembled therein, and the said several funds and endowments were by the trusts thereof declared, or by the intention of the donors directed to be expended, and were accordingly for many years laid out in maintaining and promoting a belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; but in 1782 a division in opinion upon the subject of the Trinity arose among the trustees and subscribers, and the result was, as claimed by the plaintiffs, that a minority of the then acting trustees and subscribers obtained possession of the meeting-house and other premises, excluded the minister who had been elected by a considerable majority of the trustees and subscribers, and proceeded to elect a minister of their own choice, who for

several years received the profits and emoluments of his office, as minister, arising out of the said grants and endowments, although he never preached, nor professed to believe, the doctrine for the maintenance of which the meeting-house was originally built and the said grants and endowments made; and ever since that time the trust premises had been appropriated to support and teach doctrines wholly opposed to those of the original founders, and contrary to the original trusts or intentions of the institution. The prayer of the bill was for an account of the trust premises—a declaration that the relator, Mander, who claimed to be sole surviving trustee, was as such entitled to retain possession of the meeting-house and other premises upon the trusts aforesaid, and that he might be quieted in such possession by injunction; and that the other plaintiff might in like manner be quieted in his office of minister, and in the use of the meeting-house, for the purpose of public worship.

The defendants' answer, which is very long, traverses many of the allegations of the bill, and they deny that the trust funds and endowments were, by the trusts thereof declared, or by the intentions of the donors, or by any other means, directed to be, or that the same were for many years expended in maintaining and promoting a belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; and on the contrary, they insisted that the meeting-house and premises were, by the said deed appropriated for the purpose of promoting the worship and service of Almighty God, and for the use of Protestant Dissenters, without any mention of Trinitarianism, or any other doctrine whatever, to be preached in such meeting-house; and that such funds and endowments had been, as they believed, so applied. They admitted that while they were in possession of the meeting-house the doctrine of the Holy Trinity had not been taught there, except by the said plaintiff, Steward, the minister, who, after having for three years preached and inculcated the

Unitarian doctrine, began to preach and inculcate the doctrine of Trinitarianism. They said that they were not all of them of exactly the same religious opinions; but although of different persuasions, they all believed in the existence of God, and the propriety of worshipping and serving Him, and insisted that the question as to their religious belief was irrelevant to the matter in dispute in the cause, and that the intention of the persons endowing the chapel was, that it should be a meeting-house for the worship and service of God, and for the benefit of Protestant Dissenters, without regard to any particular tenets; and they insisted generally that the plaintiffs were not entitled to any part of the relief prayed. This state of the pleadings presents, with sufficient clearness, the only question I am now considering, and that is, how far, or in what manner the speculative opinions of any of the *cestuis que trust*, upon the subject of The Trinity, affected their right to the possession and control of the trust funds. It was the contention of the plaintiffs' counsel, that, inasmuch as the Unitarian worship was neither legal nor tolerated at the time the trust was established, nor at the time this meeting-house was erected in 1701, it could not be successfully claimed that the founders intended that the income of the fund should ever be used for the support of such worship; and therefore, that neither the trustees nor the congregation usually worshipping in said meeting-house had the right or authority to divert the fund or its income from the support of a Trinitarian minister, to that of a Unitarian minister. Upon this branch of the case the language of the Lord Chancellor is quite explicit. "What I have now to enquire is," he said, "whether the deed creating the trust does, or does not, upon the face of it (regard being had to that which the Toleration Act at the time of its execution permitted or forbade, with respect to doctrine) bear a decided manifestation that the doctrines intended by that deed to be inculcated in this chapel were Trinitarian?"

Because, if that was originally the case, and if any number of the trustees are now seeking to fasten on this institution the promulgation of doctrines contrary to those which, it is thus manifest, were intended by the founders, I apprehend that they are seeking to do that which they have no power to do, and which neither they, nor all the other members of the congregation can call upon a single remaining trustee to effectuate. In this view of the case, also, supposing even that at the time of the establishment of this institution, it had been legal to impugn the doctrine of the Trinity, yet if the institution had been established for Trinitarian purposes, it could not now be converted to uses which are anti-Trinitarian." In view of this state of the law of trusts, and from the fact, that the deed in this case expressed in the most general terms the purpose of the grant "to establish a house, or place for the worship and service of God," it became necessary to inquire and determine, what forms of worship were, and were not permitted by the statute and common law at the time of the creation of the trust and the erecting of the house of worship; for as the court reasoned it could not be supposed that the donors intended to erect a house for the worship and service of God in a manner that was at the time forbidden by the civil law, meaning by civil law in this connection both statute and common law. The state of the statute law at the date of the trust deed and the erection of the meeting-house in 1701, could not have been in doubt, for by the toleration acts of 1 W. and M., c. 18, and 9 and 10 W. III., c. 32, it was provided "that the same should not be construed or extended to give any ease, benefit or advantage to persons denying The Trinity." And strange as it may seem to men of this generation, not familiar with the history of English legislation, that illiberal legislation was not repealed until the year 1813, by the St. of George III., c. 160, four years only before the cause in question was tried.

And it may not, in this connection, be wholly irrelevant

to call attention to the fact, as an indication of the great progress made during the present century, in freedom of discussion and toleration of warring religious opinions, that one of the foremost scholars of England and one of the staunchest defenders of Christianity against its latest assailants, is a member of a sect or denomination, which, a little more than seventy years ago, had no legal right of existence anywhere within the four seas; and that the same person is now, or, was recently, at the head of an institution of learning, wherein, under the full protection of law, doctrines are taught, which at the close of the last century were thought to be so subversive of civil order, as to make it necessary to except them from all "ease and benefit" enjoyed by other denominations under the toleration acts of that period. But it should never be forgotten in any treatment of this subject, however slight, that those acts of limited toleration were not founded upon any assumed right of Parliament, to punish any heretical opinions as such, but they were defended upon the ground, that the promulgation of the excepted opinions was dangerous to and subversive of civil government, and therefore, that government, in the exercise of the right of self-preservation, might suppress such promulgation by penal enactments.

Returning from this digression it is proper to say, that it was the contention of the learned counsel for the plaintiffs in the cause, that the repealing act of George III., above cited, left the common law unchanged, and that it could be construed neither directly nor by implication, as having any reference to that law, or as giving any relief from its penalties. It was thought necessary, therefore, to inquire what the common law upon the subject was, "for if the common law remains yet unaltered," said the Lord Chancellor, "and if the impugning of The Trinity be an offence indictable at common law, it is quite certain that I ought not to execute a trust the object of which is found to be illegal."

And here taking leave of the particular case, to which, possibly, too much time has already been given, I will proceed, in the light of decided cases and other sources of information, to the more general consideration of the true relation of Christianity to the common law or whether the common law does in fact recognize Christianity as part of the law of the land. Upon this subject there is a diversity of opinion; if there was not there would be little need, and less justification for occupying the time of the Society with an investigation and discussion of the subject. The views of that class of writers, who deny any such relation between the common law and Christianity, as is herein claimed, are fairly represented, so far as I know, in the writings of Thomas Jefferson on the subject; and his views are pretty fully expressed in two letters to different correspondents. The first of these letters was to his great contemporary, John Adams, under date of January 24, 1814. After characterizing some editor or compiler of Alfred's laws as a pious interpolator of those laws, he proceeds to say that "Our judges, too, have lent a ready hand to further these pious frauds, and have been willing to lay the yoke of their own opinions on the necks of others; to extend the coercions of municipal law to the dogmas of religion, by declaring that these make a part of the law of the land." He then traces in his own peculiar manner this doctrine as found stated in the Year Book of 34, Henry IV. to the time of Lord Mansfield, and charging Finch with the mistranslation of the words of Ch. J. Prisot in the Year Book above cited, and declaring that all subsequent decisions upon the subject are made to hang upon that dictum of Prisot, as mistranslated by Finch, he exclaims, "Who now can question but that the whole Bible and Testament are a part of the common law?" With all due respect to the distinguished author of that criticism, it may be said that a more perfect travesty of the doctrine, as held by any intelligent student of law, that religion is a part of the common law, could not be devised.

The same writer in a letter to Dr. Thomas Cooper, under date of February 10, 1814, copying from his Common-place Book, uses this language as to the origin and limitations of the common law. "We know," he says, "that the common law is that system of law which was introduced by the Saxons on their settlement in England, and altered from time to time by proper legislative authority from that time to the date of *Magna Charta*, which terminates the period of the common law, or *lex non scripta*, and commences that of the statute law, or *lex scripta*. This settlement took place about the middle of the fifth century. But Christianity was not introduced till the seventh century; the conversion of the first Christian king of the Heptarchy having taken place about the year 598, and that of the last about 686. Here, then, was a space of two hundred years, during which the common law was in existence and Christianity no part of it. If it was adopted therefore into the common law, it must have been between the introduction of Christianity and the date of *Magna Charta*." (A. D. 1215.)

Thus erroneously assuming, as will hereafter be shown, that the only means of growth known to the common law, after the Saxon period, was by legislative enactments. He then asserts that we have a tolerably full, though not perfect collection of the laws of that period, namely from the introduction of Christianity to the signing of the Great Charter at Runnymede, and that none of those laws adopt Christianity as part of the common law; and closes his various assumptions with the declaration that "we may safely affirm (though contradicted by all the judges and writers on earth) that Christianity neither is, nor ever was a part of the common law." To show the total misunderstanding or perversion by Mr. Jefferson of the language of the English judges a single additional quotation from his writings will suffice. After accusing the clergy of the perpetration of pious frauds upon the subject under consid-

eration, he says, "In truth, the alliance between church and State in England has ever made their judges accomplices in the frauds of the clergy; and even bolder than they are. For instead of being contented to go as far as the clergy had gone, they have taken the whole leap, and declared at once that the whole Bible and Testament (*sic*) in a lump make part of the common law; the first judicial declaration of which was by this same Sir Matthew Hale. And thus they incorporate into the English code laws made for the Jews alone." And then to support the truth of this extraordinary statement he cites the words used by Sir Matthew Hale in the case of the King *versus* Taylor that, "Christianity is part of the laws of England," meaning as every intelligent and unbiased reader would understand, just what Lord Mansfield afterwards said on the same subject, that "The *essential principles* of revealed religion are part of the common law," not that the whole Mosaic code was incorporated into the law. The error into which Mr. Jefferson, and the class of writers whom he represents on this subject, seem to have fallen, has a two-fold origin. First, an apparent failure to gain a true conception of what the common law is, and how it came to be what it is; and secondly, an entire misapprehension of the manner in which the common law is said to embrace Christianity and make it a part of itself.

"A great proportion," says Sir William Hale, "of the rules and maxims which constitute the immense code of the common law grew into use without any legislative interference. *It was the application of the dictates of natural justice and of cultivated reason to particular cases.* The common law of England is not the product of the wisdom of some one man, or society of men in any age; but of the wisdom, counsel, experience and observation of many ages of wise and discerning men." The contrast will at once be seen, between this comprehensive and philosophical account of the origin and gradual expansion, through many ages,

of the common law by one of England's greatest judges, and that narrow and stunted production of which Mr. Jefferson treats, and which he attributes to the most unlettered and least cultivated ages of English history.

Another legal writer,¹ whose works have done much to facilitate the study and enlarge the knowledge of English law, says, "It may on the whole be received as generally true, that our common law traces its *origin* to the early usages and customs of the aboriginal Britons, and was successively augmented in different ages by the admixture of some of the laws and usages of the Romans, the Picts, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans, who spread themselves over the country; so that our laws, to use the words of Lord Bacon, "became as mixed as our language." Chancellor Kent in his commentaries on American law, after showing that the common law of England, so far as it is applicable to our situation and government, has been recognized in all the States, adds that it consists of a collection of principles to be found in the opinions of sages, or deduced from immemorial usages and receiving progressively the sanction of the courts."

Nor is there anything in this origin and gradual growth of the common law peculiar to the English or American systems of jurisprudence. "The Roman law," says a late learned writer,² "was not the result of philosophical theories conceived *a priori*, but was slowly elaborated by every day's experience and conformed, under the influence of magistrates and jurisconsults, to all the necessities of society." It is, indeed, one of the natural and necessary conditions of national existence and progress, that law—a common law—should be thus gradually developed by processes quite independent of the strictly legislative department of government. And this progress in the development of the common or unwritten law of a people does not terminate with any particular age, but is co-existent with the advancement of the State or nation along every other line

¹ Warren's Law Studies.

² M. Valette.

of its general civilization. The pervasive and all-embracing character of this law is well defined by the very learned Duponceau in his dissertation on the nature and extent of the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States. Having devoted some pages to an exposition of what the common law is, and its recognition in this country, he asks, "But why need I go into such a wide argument to prove what I consider a self-evident principle? We live in the midst of the common law, we inhale it at every breath, imbibe it at every pore; we meet it when we wake and when we lie down to sleep, when we travel and when we stay at home; it is interwoven with the very idiom that we speak, and we cannot learn another system of laws without learning at the same time another language. We cannot think of right and wrong but through the medium of the ideas we have derived from the common law."

The next question I propose to consider is this: Does the Christian religion form part of the common law, or does the common law take cognizance of offences against that religion, and if so to what extent and upon what principles? This question cannot be fairly answered, or discussed with any justice to the subject or to those who hold the affirmative of it, by simply considering what offences or alleged offences against religion have in different ages been treated as penal; nor without carefully discriminating between those offences which have been made punishable by statute and those which have been held to be punishable at common law.

The relation of Christianity to this common law is clearly stated by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in the following language: "There never was," says that great lawyer, "a single instance from the Saxon times to our own, in which a man was ever punished for *erroneous opinions* concerning rites and modes of worship, but upon some particular law." That is some particular statute. "The common law of England, which is only common reason or usage, knows

of no persecution for mere opinion. For atheism, blasphemy, and reviling the Christian religion, there have been instances of persons being prosecuted and punished upon the common law, but bare non-conformity is no sin at common law." The same eminent judge reiterated these sentiments in a case of novel impression which came before the House of Lords for judgment upon a writ of error, in the year 1767. The case was that of the Chamberlain of London against Allen Evans for refusing to accept the office of sheriff to which he had been elected, and who pleaded in bar of the action, that he was not eligible to the office, not having taken of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England within the year next before the election; and the question was whether the defendant was at liberty or could be allowed to plead his inability on that ground, the plaintiff in error claiming that it was the duty of the defendant under the law to observe that rite, and that he could not be permitted to plead one infraction of the law in justification of his refusal to obey the law in another respect. In support of the legality and rightfulness of the defendant's plea Lord Mansfield spoke with great force and clearness, and among other things said, "There is no usage or custom independent of positive law which makes non-conformity a crime. The eternal principles of natural religion are part of the common law; the essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law; so that any person reviling, subverting or ridiculing them may be prosecuted at common law. But it cannot be shown from the principles of natural or revealed religion, that independent of positive law, temporal punishments ought to be inflicted for mere opinions respecting modes of worship." This clear discrimination pointed out by Lord Mansfield, between offences punishable by statute and at common law, is observed in the judgments of other great English lawyers who preceded and followed him in the great office which they have made forever illustrious by their genius and learning.

In Woolston's case, tried in King's Bench in the year 1729, Chief Justice Raymond, in reply to the objection of defendant's counsel that this court had no jurisdiction of the offence for which the defendant was on trial, said, "Christianity in general is parcel of the common law of England, and therefore to be protected by it; now whatever strikes at the very root of Christianity, tends manifestly to a dissolution of the civil government; so that to say an attempt to subvert the established religion is not punishable by those laws upon which it is established is an absurdity." He added, however, this qualification, "I would have it taken notice of that we do not meddle with any differences in opinion, and that we interfere only where the very root of Christianity is struck at." Sir Matthew Hale, in giving the judgment of the court in a case in which the defendant, besides other still more blasphemous words, had declared that Christianity was a cheat, said, "That kind of wicked words were not only an offence to God and religion, but a crime against the laws, state and government, and therefore punishable by this court (King's Bench). For to say religion is a cheat is to dissolve all those obligations whereby civil society is preserved; and that Christianity is a part of the laws of England; and therefore to reproach the Christian religion is to speak in subversion of law."

As late as 1819, in a case before the King's Bench, Denman, afterwards eminent as a judge, moved in arrest of judgment, not on the ground that blasphemy had not been an offence at common law, but on the ground that the statutes providing penalties for blasphemy had in effect repealed the common law; but Chief Justice Abbott and his associates held otherwise, saying that when there is a misdemeanor at common law, a statute providing a particular punishment for it, does not repeal the common law, and therefore blasphemy was still an offence at common law.

The language of Lord Eldon to the same effect is emphatic. There can be no doubt, he declares, that prior to

this statute (9 and 10, W. III., c. 32) blasphemy was an offence at common law; and it is impossible to contend that the penalties inflicted by the statute give any foundation for supposing that there could no longer exist a punishment for blasphemy at common law independent of this statute. On the contrary, the common law is left by the statute exactly as it was before the statute was passed.

These authorities, and they might easily be multiplied, fully sustain the proposition that Christianity has been regarded as a part of the common law by the greatest masters of English jurisprudence, and they also show the limitations under which that doctrine is held, and that only offences against the fundamental principles of Christianity have been made punishable at common law, and that, not on the ground that these are heresies, but because they tend to the overthrow of public order and the subversion of civil government. It is undoubtedly true that offences have been held punishable in the civil courts at one time or age which would not be so treated at another time. In the case of Carlisle, who was indicted and convicted in the year 1819 for publishing Paine's *Age of Reason*, the defendant was fined fifteen hundred pounds and imprisoned three years, and required to find sureties for his good behavior for the term of his natural life. Such an indictment would hardly be returned by a grand jury at the present day, either in England or this country; and even if a party should be convicted of the publication of the book, the conviction would not be followed with such severity of sentence, not because the principle upon which governments act in these matters has been changed, but because there has been a change in the practical application of that principle. Some readers hold Cromwell as guilty of gross inconsistency when he said to the Governor of Ross, whom he had summoned to surrender, "As for that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise

the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know where the Parliament of England has power, *that* will not be allowed of." But Cromwell then acted upon the same principle that the American senator of to-day does, when he says to the polygamous delegate from Utah, we meddle not with any man's conscience, but we judge it best to use plain language and to let you know that wherever the laws of the United States have power, there polygamy cannot be permitted to be practised. The two subjects are indeed widely different, but each is denounced in its time and place, because of the belief in its tendency to subvert social order and overthrow existing government.¹ It will be observed that it is the Parliament, and not the Church of England, whose power Cromwell invokes to preserve, not a mere dogma in religion, but public order and organized government. Causes which at one period are a menace to government may at another period cease to be sources of danger, and therefore are no longer proper subjects for penal procedure. Upon the question as to the true relation of Christianity to the common law, American authorities are in full accord with the decisions of the English courts. In a leading case argued at great length before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in the year 1824, the decision of the full court was that Christianity was a part of the common law of that State; and that maliciously to vilify that religion was an indictable offence and punishable at common law. The grounds on which the decision of the court rested were set forth in the following language: "While our own free constitution secures liberty of conscience and freedom of religious worship to all, it is not necessary to maintain that any man should have the right publicly to vilify the religion of his

¹ "The mass in those days meant intrigue, conspiracy, rebellion, murder, if nothing else would serve; and better it would have been for Mary Stuart, better for Scotland, better for the broad welfare of Europe, if it had been held at arms' length while the battle lasted, by every country from which it had been expelled."—History of the Reign of Elizabeth, by Froude, vol. 3, p. 589.

neighbors and of the whole country. These two privileges are directly opposed to each other. It is open, public vilification of the religion of the country that is punished, not to force conscience by punishment, but to preserve the peace of the community by an outward respect to the religion of the country, and not as a restraint upon the liberty of conscience; but licentiousness endangering the public peace, and tending to corrupt society, is considered as a breach of the peace, and punishable by indictment. Every immoral act is not punished, but when it is destructive of morality generally, it is because it weakens the bonds by which society is held together; and government is nothing more than public order." Judge Story, in giving the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Vidal against the Executors of Stephen Girard*, better known as the *Girard Will Case*, sustained the position which Mr. Webster had strenuously contended for in his argument of the cause, that the Christian religion was a part of the common law of Pennsylvania. Chancellor Kent in an elaborate opinion given by him when he was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, held that blasphemy was a public offence and punishable by the common law of that State. "The free, equal, and undisturbed enjoyment of religious opinion," said the learned Chief Justice, "whatever it may be, is granted and secured; but to revile with malicious and blasphemous contempt, the religion professed by almost the whole community, is an abuse of that right. Though the constitution has discarded religious establishments, it does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offences against religion and morality, which have no reference to any such establishment, or to any particular form of government, but are punishable because they strike at the root of moral obligation and weaken the security of social ties." Thus it will be seen that the proposition, that Christianity is a part of the common law, is supported by the very highest judi-

cial authority both in England and in this country, and further that the offences against Christianity, punishable at common law, are made so punishable; because of their tendency to disturb public order and to subvert organized government, and that they were never held to be punishable merely as offences against Christianity, much less as heresies; for the common law, whatever may have been done by statute law, never yet undertook to punish a heretic.

This brief survey of the authorities establishes beyond the reach of controversy the fact, that Mr. Jefferson and the school of writers to which he belonged misconceived and misrepresented the doctrine, as held and declared by the courts, both English and American, of the relation of the common law to Christianity; and it also reveals the interesting fact, that the framers of the early constitutions of our States perfectly well understood the doctrine as held by the courts, and incorporated in those constitutions the principles which the courts had often announced upon this subject in the practical administration of the law.

The second article of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights reads as follows: "It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and preserver of the Universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in person, liberty or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; for his religious profession or sentiment; *provided he doth not disturb the public peace* or obstruct others in their religious worship." In an amendment proposed by Mr. Madison to the corresponding article in the Virginia Declaration of Rights, the same discrimination is made between what may, and may not, be the subject of inquiry in the civil courts. After stating that no man or class of men ought, on account of religion, to be invested with peculiar emoluments or privileges, nor

subject to any penalties or disabilities, that great civilian adds these words: "*unless, under color of religion the preservation of equal rights and the existence of the State be manifestly endangered.*"

In the light of this discussion it may, I think rightfully be claimed, that whenever the question arises, either in the legislature or in the courts, as to what offences against Christianity shall be deemed misdemeanors and punishable by the civil power, the right answer will depend upon the consideration, as to whether the act or acts complained of, tend to the corruption of general morality and to the overthrow of public order, or not. And that the rights of conscience or private judgment, which are often passionately insisted upon, though leading to courses of conduct destructive of social order and regulated government, are to be regarded as perversions, and not the legitimate exercise of those sound and fundamental rights. The historical student who would reach just conclusions as to the justice or necessity of any given statute of toleration or intolerance must carefully consider the times and all attending circumstances and conditions. Acts and courses of conduct, on the part of individuals or societies, would be sufficient to imperil the safety of a colony like Massachusetts, during the early years of its existence, with its municipal institutions imperfectly organized, which would be attended with no appreciable danger to a powerful commonwealth with all its departments of government in full operation. And punishments might properly be inflicted for offences against the colony, which would be wholly unnecessary, and, even cruel, if resorted to by the commonwealth. Penal statutes, demanded for the public safety, were passed against Papists, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who had been excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, and whose life was in mortal peril from the hand of the would-be assassin, in the employment of that same Pope, which are wholly unnecessary under the reign of Victoria, and would therefore be

grossly unjust. In truth those statutes were enacted to provide for the punishment of treason against the civil government rather than to punish non-conformity in religion. In writing of the early years of Elizabeth's reign, Macaulay says, "It long seemed probable that Englishmen would have to fight desperately on English ground for their religion and independence. Nor were they ever for a moment free from apprehension of some great treason at home. For in that age it had become a point of conscience and of honor with many men of generous natures to sacrifice their country to their religion." But in this connection the distinction between Catholics and Papists should not be forgotten. The latter placed their allegiance to the church above that which they owed to the crown; but the former though strongly attached to the traditions and doctrines of the church, "distrusted as cordially as Protestants, the interference of a foreign power, whether secular or spiritual, with English liberty." Motley, writing of the same period of English history, says, "Many seminary priests and others were annually executed in England under these laws" (statutes) "throughout the Queen's reign, but nominally at least they were hanged not as Papists, but as traitors; not because they taught transubstantiation or even Papal supremacy, but because they taught treason and murder—because they preached the necessity of killing the Queen." And when read in the light of their own times and surrounding circumstances, most if not all the acts passed by the English Parliament from 1549 to 1689, abridging religious freedom, and for which there never was any sufficient justification, will be found by the impartial student of history, not to have been designed wholly for the punishment of heresies or mere non-conformity, but also for the preservation of civil government and public order.

But any further discussion of that extraordinary series of statutes, by which the religious rights of large portions of the English people were for centuries most unjustly

interfered with, and some of which were not repealed till as late as 1871, would lead beyond the purpose of this paper; which was to show historically the relation between Christianity and the common law, and to prove that whatever of religious persecution had taken place under the forms of law in England or in the English colonies, must be attributed to statute law, and not to the more liberal and rational principles of that law which is the product of cultivated reason and of the wisdom of many generations.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1889.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds October 1, 1888.

On the 16th of February last a new "Fund" was created by a legacy of \$2,000, from our late associate, Francis H. Dewey, LL.D., "the income thereof to be applied to the purchase of the biographies and the miscellaneous writings of distinguished judges and lawyers."

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,202.64.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1889, was \$107,841.98, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$30,687.55
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,240.86
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,612.69
The Publishing Fund,.....	21,157.42
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,618.44
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,767.06
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,147.60
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,693.17
The Alden Fund,.....	1,174.78
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,267.13
The George Chandler Fund,.....	545.68
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,.....	1,202.64
Francis H. Dewey Fund.....	2,025.00
Subscription to Stevens's "Facsimiles" from E. L. Davis..	25.00

\$107,841.98

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$7,609.51.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1889, is as follows :

DR.

1888. Oct. 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$5,077.64
1889. April 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	2,912.06
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	90.00
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	255.23
" "	Received payment on mortgage note.....	100.00
" "	Bank tax refunded,.....	400.67
" "	From estate of F. H. Dewey.....	2,000.00
" "	For U. S. cent of 1793.....	25.00
" "	Subscription to Stevens's " Facsimiles "....	25.00
		<hr/>
		\$10,885.60

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1889,.....	\$1,620.00
By expense of repairs,.....	736.87
By printing "Proceedings".....	447.24
Books purchased,.....	157.96
For binding,.....	105.30
Incidental expenses, including coal,.....	165.52
For special work in the Library.....	43.20
	<hr/>
	\$3,278.09
Balance in cash April 1, 1889,.....	7,609.51
	<hr/>
	\$10,885.60

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1888,.....		\$39,702.61
Income to April 1, 1889,.....		1,191.06
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....		150.00
Other sources		26.40
		<hr/>
		\$41,070.07
Paid for salaries,.....	\$1,230.75	
Incidental expenses.....	151.77	
	<hr/>	
		\$1,382.52
		<hr/>
1889, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$39,687.55

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$17,974.85
For books sold,.....	195.08
Income to April 1, 1889,.....	539.34
	<u>\$18,709.27</u>
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,..	488.41
1889, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	<u>\$18,240.86</u>

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$6,519.41
Income to April 1, 1889,	198.58
	<u>\$6,717.99</u>
Paid for binding,.....	105.30
1889, April 1. Amount of Fund,	<u>\$6,612.69</u>

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$20,944.57
Income to April 1, 1889,	628.34
Publications sold,.....	81.75
	<u>\$21,604.66</u>
Cost of printing "Proceedings".....	447.24
Balance April 1, 1889,	<u>\$21,157.42</u>

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$1,600.93
Income to April 1, 1889,	48.03
	<u>\$1,648.96</u>
Paid for books,.....	30.52
Balance April 1, 1889,	<u>\$1,618.44</u>

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$2,686.47
Income to April 1, 1889,	80.59
Balance April 1, 1889,	<u>\$2,767.06</u>

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$1,134.37
Income to April 1, 1889,	34.03
	<u>\$1,168.40</u>
Paid for books,.....	20.80
Balance April 1, 1889,	<u>\$1,147.60</u>

1889.]

Report of the Treasurer.

41

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$5,274.70	
Income to April 1, 1889,	158.34	
	<u>\$5,433.04</u>	
Paid for repairs,	789.87	
Balance April 1, 1889,		\$4,693.17

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$1,182.51	
Income to April 1, 1889,	35.47	
	<u>\$1,217.98</u>	
Paid on account of cataloguing,	43.20	
Balance April 1, 1889,		\$1,174.78

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$5,000.00	
Income to April 1, 1889,	150.00	
	<u>\$5,150.00</u>	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	150.00	
Balance April 1, 1889,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$1,252.17	
Income to April 1, 1889,	87.56	
	<u>\$1,289.73</u>	
Paid for books,	22.60	
Balance April 1, 1889,		\$1,267.13

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1888,	\$521.65	
Income to April 1, 1889,	15.66	
Books sold,	24.00	
	<u>\$561.31</u>	
Paid for books,	15.63	
Balance April 1, 1889,		\$545.68

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

1889. February 16,	\$2,000.00	
Income to April 1, 1889,	25.00	
Balance April 1, 1889,		\$2,025.00
Total of the thirteen funds,		<u>\$105,937.38</u>
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,		676.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,		1,202.64
Subscriptions to Stevens's "Facsimiles,"		25.00
April 1, 1889, total,		<u>\$107,841.98</u>

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 888.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	3,158.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	488.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00
2	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	520.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,000.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	642.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	710.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	5,842.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,597.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,650.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		<u>\$23,000.00</u>	<u>\$29,625.00</u>
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,320.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	700.00
BONDS.			
	Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,665.00
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,900.00
	Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,250.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	5,031.00
	Chicago, Santa Fe & California R. R.,.....	3,000.00	3,120.00
	Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	42,950.00	42,950.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	3,482.47	3,482.47
	Cash,.....	7,609.51	7,609.51
		<u>\$107,841.98</u>	<u>\$118,652.98</u>

WORCESTER, Mass., April 15, 1889.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1889, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

April 18, 1889.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IF this brief report should prove to be of a somewhat fragmentary character, the librarian will offer no apology, as it contains various statements and suggestions which seem to him to be of more or less importance in connection not only with our own library life but also with that of kindred institutions.

The withdrawal of our associate Mr. Reuben Colton from the post of assistant-librarian, after nearly eleven years of faithful service, should here be made a matter of record. On the first day of February Miss Mary Robinson, for eight years our card cataloguer, was promoted to the position of "Assistant to the Librarian," and is filling it with conscientious fidelity. From November 15 to December 21, Miss Elizabeth M. C. Rice was usefully employed in arranging and repairing our portraits, at the charge of the Alden Fund. Since February 5, she has put in order our collection of play-bills and kindred material, and has been of general service about the library. These changes in the executive force have necessarily added to the labors and anxieties of the librarian, but the library committee have been careful to make the burden as light as possible.

In the every-day management of library affairs the question often arises—how can librarians assist each other? One practical answer might be, by an exchange of suggestions in their reports, as well as in the annual conferences of the American Library Association. Certain illustrations in the line of labor-saving helps have appeared from time to time in the reports of the librarian. When it is known that the superintendent of the Buffalo Library is

making a special collection of literary material bearing upon the history of the New York Canal system, we should cheerfully send him any information upon the subject, whether it be a brief reference to foreign or domestic catalogues containing rare pamphlets in that line, or a knowledge of the presence of such material in book-stall or duplicate room. Then in return he may notify us of the whereabouts of volume two of our Transactions, knowing it to be out of print, and, furthermore, will take notice of our printed lists of other important wants.

A word may be said in favor of always repaging reprints. Failure to do this has been noticed even where foot-notes have been added to the paper after its first issue, thus giving them the appearance of oversheets for the duplicate room. This growing custom would hardly seem to be fair treatment of brochures worth reprinting at all.

A plea should be made, especially, in the interest of the card cataloguer, against the growing habit of publishing books and pamphlets, generally excerpts, without title-pages, and latterly in a few instances, even without dates. The blemish may be a slight one, but it should be discountenanced as wholly unnecessary, as by it we may lose at least a portion of their history. We have received the past year town reports bearing no indication whatever of place or period, in fact nothing even suggestive of persons except the name of the signer or signers thereof. Still another labor-saving aid to librarians by correspondents who thoughtfully write "Don't let me give you any undue trouble with the above queries," would be directness of appeal for information. Some of the time which a librarian holds for the benefit of all, would be saved if specific instead of general questions were asked when they would answer the same purpose. Very much the same criticism may be said of some appeals made by word of mouth.

An earnest protest is entered against the modern disposition of private book owners to mutilate books by the cut-

ting or tearing out of autographs, book-plates or other evidences of previous ownership. Nothing is gained by this process, and aside from the injury to the books themselves, interesting facts are forever lost thereby. A knowledge of this habit will lead librarians to guard their treasures more closely than ever. In this connection, I would recommend the securely placing—especially in an author's copy—the letter of gift which so frequently accompanies the book or pamphlet received. It is believed that in a library of reference as well as in a private library this can be safely done. Many of the books purchased of Mr. Samuel G. Drake by Mr. Henry Stevens, and later received by us on exchange account, have the added value of such autograph letters. I wish—as one of the many sufferers—to second the suggestion of the *Princeton Review*, that an appropriate punishment for authors and publishers who issue important books without indexes would be “that they be compelled to spend two or three years at hard labor in a library without a catalogue, looking up references in unindexed books.”

Finally, while we may not agree with my predecessor, Dr. Haven, that a book well trimmed is worth twenty-five per cent. more than one untrimmed, it is after all true that life seems too short for a very extensive library use of the paper-cutter. A slight trimming of the top and a slight sprinkling of gold upon it would be far better for most busy librarians, and quite as well for their patrons. While the foregoing points may appear somewhat trivial in character, it should be remembered that they all tend in the same general direction, namely, toward library economy. Libraries are of various classes which require differences of administration, but the brotherhood of librarians is one body which has many needs in common.

In this day when so many public documents find their way to the junk shop, the librarian feels called upon to move a “stay in the proceedings,” not at this time in the

interest of re-distribution, important as that may be, but chiefly in the interest of the preservation of such valuable material as has seen the light only through government channels, and is never likely to be reprinted. If an illustration be needed, the receipt of the two Dorr Rebellion reports made to the United States House of Representatives, June 1 and 16, 1844, 1st Session, 28th Congress, five thousand copies of which were ordered printed, January 2, 1845—will readily furnish it. The former is a document of 1075 pages, containing not only the report of the Committee—better known as the Burke Report—but evidence produced at various trials, with an abundance of official papers, both public and private. The latter contains 172 pages presenting the government case. As would readily be inferred, their great value, historically, is not so much in the reports of the Committees as in the accompanying documents.

In the librarian's report of April, 1888, your attention was called to the curious interest and value which pertains to the history of some books upon our shelves, using by way of illustration certain works by two of our living members, namely: Sir Daniel Wilson, and Dr. William Fred. Poole. Let me now add to that list one other member's name and work. It shall be in recognition of the quarter Centennial of the publication in the *Atlantic Monthly* of December, 1863, of the Rev. Edward Everett Hale's wonderful story of "The Man without a Country," about which so many contradictory statements have been made, and so many questions as to whether the story is based on fiction or fact, have been asked. Let me contribute from our letter file of the period, a paragraph from a letter to Mr. Haven, October 16, 1863, as follows: "Please read my fiction based on Burr and Wilkinson when you see the December *Atlantic*. It is called The Man without a Country." Also a letter entire which was addressed to Mr. Haven, November 30, 1863, as follows: "I had meant that the authorship of a little sketch in this *Atlantic*

should not have been known, but a blunder at Ticknor & Fields's has revealed it. You are one of the persons who would not have been deceived as to the fact, or the authorship, had you happened to cast your eye on it. I return to you Wilkinson's volumes in which, and perhaps, in your autograph books are its foundations in fact. I am gratified to learn, however, that at the Navy Department at Washington, they remember that there was an officer kept abroad constantly and never permitted to return home. Some of them question, however, whether he was not sent home to die." This much of contemporary history had been gathered, when Messrs. Roberts Brothers's beautiful edition of 1889, illustrated by Mr. Frank T. Merrill, was secured for our collection of the works of members. In it—and the fact should be generally known—there is a most interesting explanatory appendix of four pages, penned by the author, August 21, 1888. Students of "close classification" might find some difficulty in agreeing as to the class to which this work belongs. There could be found easy excuses for locating it in the departments of fiction, travel, biography, or even Spanish America, but its great, though quiet, service during the war of the Rebellion would plead for a place in the alcove of Rebellion and Slavery. It will, however, be found with Dr. Hale's miscellaneous works in binding, already grouped upon our shelves.

From entries in the Book of Accessions, October 15, 1888, to April 15, 1889, the following facts are gleaned. We have received from forty-seven members, ninety-six non-members, and seventy-eight societies and institutions—in all two hundred and twenty-one sources—six hundred and sixty-one books, forty-three hundred and thirty-seven pamphlets, one hundred and eighty-seven volumes of unbound newspapers, four volumes of manuscripts, five charts, four photographs, two framed crayons, two medals, two coins, and one book-rest. By exchange, two hundred books and one hundred and forty-two pamphlets; and from the

bindery, seventy-three volumes of magazines, and forty-three volumes of newspapers; making a total of nine hundred and thirty-four books, forty-five hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets, forty-three bound and one hundred and eighty-seven volumes of unbound newspapers, and the other articles enumerated.

Your attention is called to the usual list of givers and gifts hereto appended, which forms a part of this report. The librarian will not otherwise attempt to thank individually all those who have gratefully and gracefully forwarded to us the results of their studies in part with us and in part by us, nor the many others who have sent the fruit of their labors pursued elsewhere. To each and all we are duly grateful. A few especially noteworthy gifts will, however, be briefly mentioned. Dr. George Chandler has presented two manuscript volumes entitled "Monumental inscriptions of the name of Chandler." The indorsement upon the first follows: "Three Books, Nos. I., II., III., of monumental inscriptions, mostly of those of the descendants of William and Annis Chandler, were collected by George Chandler. Books Nos. I. and II. are placed in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, and book No. III. is designed for the same rooms. For location of burial, see the last pages of the book. The number at the left hand of the name, in red ink, corresponds with like number in the Chandler Family." The Chandler Fund has allowed the purchase of a few of the best genealogies, and orders on its account have encouraged the publication of others. The sale of copies of the "Chandler Family," to some of its members who believe it to be an eminently practical way of paying tribute *ad mortem fidelis*, has within the past six months added materially to the fund. It should be remarked that Dr. Chandler allows the sale of his great work for six dollars, which covers only the expense of printing and binding, and that all orders sent to him are immediately forwarded to us, as he

has retained absolutely no extra copies. William Sumner Barton, Esq., has turned over to the Society what is practically the remainder of the edition of his "Epitaphs from the Cemetery on Worcester Common with occasional Notes, References and an Index." President Salisbury has virtually allowed us to use his Yucatecan reprints as if they were our own; and it will be remembered that we acknowledged to Vice-President Hoar twenty-five copies of the Pierce Genealogy which he purchased for the library. I call your special attention to these methods of doing good to the Society in which we all have an interest, trusting there may be others, both within and without the Society, who will think favorably of such suggestions. The additions to the Davis Spanish-American alcove which have been almost wholly Mexican, include such authorities as Cordoba, Espinoza, Leon y Gama, Lorenzana, Los Rios, Molina, Payno, and Zarate. Nearly all were purchased at the sale of the library of Señor Eufemio Abadiano of Mexico. A foreign order for books relating to this most important department has not been filled in time for the present report. The accessions to the B. F. Thomas alcove of Local History, through the fund given for that purpose, have been of a most satisfactory character and the same remark will apply to the Haven alcove of American History. I again suggest the purchase of book-plates for use in both the above-named alcoves. Hon. James V. Campbell, in addition to valuable historical and biographical material relating to Michigan, sends Zeisberger's rare translation into the Delaware language of "A Collection of Hymns | for the use of the | Christian Indians, | of the Missions | of the United Brethren, | in North America," a 12mo. printed at Philadelphia in 1803 by Henry Sweitzer. In the accompanying note Judge Campbell suggestively writes, "I begin to realize that it is time I put such antiquities where they will be preserved," adding, "I have somewhere a very early copy of Pilpay's

Fables that I intended to send you but it has disappeared." Sir Daniel Wilson, who first contributed to our Proceedings in April, 1863, honors his membership by forwarding several of his more recent archaeological papers. In his letter to the librarian, which accompanies the gift, he writes, "They are but trifles, but the forwarding of them affords me an opportunity of expressing to the Society my grateful sense of the kind liberality which has for so many years admitted me to a share in their literary and archaeological researches, by their kind gift of the Proceedings of the Society. I congratulate you on its growing prosperity." A Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Confederate States of America, "from the cargo of the Anglo-Rebel Blockade Runner Minna," has been placed in the Rebellion alcove by the librarian. It is a 24mo, which bears the imprint "Richmond, Virginia, J. W. Randolph, MDCCCLXIII." While it contains "A Prayer for the President of the Confederate States and all in Civil Authority," the expression United States does not appear to have been wholly expunged from this Book of Common Prayer. A valuable gift which comes to us through the agency of Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D., of the Council, is thus referred to by him in his letter, dated Boston, November 27, 1888: "I send you with this what you will think a treasure indeed, in addition to your collections which illustrate the late Civil War. It consists of fifteen volumes of scrap-books, carefully made from day to day by the late Mrs. Caroline C. Freeman of this city. As you will see, the collection begins even before the outbreak of the war, and goes nearly to the end of 1864. It therefore makes almost a complete history, as an intelligent and eager observer watched the progress of events. Mrs. Freeman's daughter, Miss Harriet E. Freeman, now presents this valuable collection to our Society. The time has already come when such collections ought to be open to students of history." In a certain sense the sources of

such an accession are two-fold, the nearer and the more remote, and thus our gratitude extends to both. A wise and timely suggestion is sometimes of the greatest possible value to such a Society as our own. The lessons to be drawn from such an example are of a very practical nature but do not need to be dwelt upon at this time.

Col. Henry E. Smith, Commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, has presented for the Society's acceptance the bronze medal issued in commemoration of their 250th anniversary. It is interesting to connect this gift with the fact which appears in a foot-note to Dr. William Paine's address before the Society, at King's Chapel, Boston, October 23, 1815, on their third anniversary, namely, that "on this day, the Society was honoured by the attendance of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company who led the procession." We have received from Mrs. Charles Wilkinson, of Worcester, in memory of her late husband and with the approval of his family, a war relic from a Newbern library. According to its rubricated title-page bearing place and date as Amsterdam, 1708, it is "A Large Dictionary, English and Dutch, in two Parts: wherein each Language is set forth in its proper form; the various significations being exactly noted, etc.: to which is added a Grammar for both Languages." It is a fitting gift which will be placed in the company of the dictionaries of many lands and of many tongues. Mr. G. Stewart Dickinson who, as a young collector was assisted by the Society, has now transferred to us his valuable collection of stamps. They are beautifully arranged in a copy of Scott's International Postage Stamp Album, 9th Edition, 1888. It might be added that many of the set, including the issues of the highest denominations, are entirely undefaced, having been bought directly from the governments they represent. Some enthusiastic and keen-eyed philatelist, familiar with the genuine and the counterfeit stamp, should now take our mass of such material and arrange it to date. Our cabinet of Coins

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and Medals has been enriched by the addition of Mr. Dickinson's small numismatic collection. Mr. William Flynn, for service rendered, has presented not only the "Fire Service of Worcester" but thirteen volumes containing histories of the same service in as many other cities of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Hon. Theodore Irwin's gift is one of a hundred copies of his elegant catalogue of his library with a brief list of his engravings and etchings. Mr. Pliny Earle, 2d, recalling a promise made to the librarian a score of years ago, has placed in the library files of his two early amateur papers "The Carrier Pigeon," and "The Heart of the Commonwealth." Mr. Paul Leicester Ford has presented his compilation of a volume of "Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States, 1787-88," to which our shelves contributed several rarities. A memorial of the Reverend Dr. Joseph Tuckerman which includes a reprint of the Doctor's works taken from the Society's collection, has been received from his son, Mr. Joseph Tuckerman.

If, in reading these special acknowledgments, there should be found mention of gifts of minor importance, your attention is again called to the hints or suggestions of supposed value which may accompany them. The following curious specimen of an easy but inclusive entry is found in the Book of Donations, volume 2: "Presented to the Society by Thomas Walcott of Boston, books, pamphlets and newspapers, which, with the boxes containing them, weighed forty-four hundred and seventy-six pounds!"

A special effort to effect sales, as well as to make exchanges, has been made the past six months, with some degree of success. It should however be stated for our own benefit and for the benefit of others, that our classified title-slips of duplicates are kept up to date, and are always subject to call from any trustworthy quarter. While the classes are not numerous, they include Biography individual and collective, Genealogy, Hymnody, Local History,

Registers, Directories and Almanacs, Slavery and Rebellion, etc. An alphabetical arrangement of all the material in the duplicate room makes it possible to serve promptly both callers and correspondents.

We have recently, by way of exchange, aided very materially in the gathering together of what, for the want of a better name, may be called a Missionary Library. It is intended to illustrate the history, progress and present condition of Christian missions in all lands, not only by the exhaustive works which have been published from time to time by the various Christian bodies, but by their annual reports, monthly or weekly magazines and newspapers, as well as the other literature circulated in connection with their work. Such a collection, patiently and carefully brought together, is not at all likely to be dispersed, but will ultimately find its way to some large library, possibly our own. It is surprising how much of the history of commerce and civilization may thus be brought together.

The librarian has of late had occasion to be more than usually helpful not only to members personally, but also by correspondence. There is a special pleasure, as well as propriety in this course in so far as it is practicable. We have necessarily furnished much manuscript as well as printed material for the new History of Worcester County just issued from the Philadelphia press, and the work therein of our membership can hardly be too highly commended. They, with others, have abundantly proved that a Memorial History of Worcester, printed as well as written by her own citizens, could have been and should have been a leading feature of her bi-centennial celebration of 1884.

The utility of nearly everything within our walls has again been illustrated in the reproducing, with Mr. Salisbury's kind permission, of some of the exquisite needle work of the Mayas.

We have sent to the Paris Exposition of 1889 a partial exhibit of our publications, with the request that at its close it may be presented, with the Society's compliments, and through M. Désiré Pector, President, to *La Société Américaine de France*.

Our Recording Secretary takes with him on his mission to Switzerland, to which we all so cordially commend him, an exchange of gifts from this Society to the universities of Zurich and Berne. It consists not only of suggestive publications with regard to our own life and work, but also those of the other educational institutions by which we are more immediately surrounded.

It may be well to remind members who from time to time have written papers for the Society's publications, that there has been no uniformity in the disposition of their original manuscripts. While they have generally been sent to the writers with the galley proofs, by the Committee of Publication, they have occasionally found their way back to our archives, where they are placed on file for future reference. This much is said in the interest of those who carefully preserve their manuscript productions, and would like to recover them, as well as of those who would gladly find a safe and accessible place of deposit for them. The propriety of calling attention to this matter has been emphasized by a knowledge of the fact that one of the most valuable manuscripts to which I refer was committed to the flames not long since by a careless servant.

In this connection, writers are reminded that the manuscript should always be returned with the proof-sheets, as it is often needed for reference in the reading of the final proofs.

The occasional failure of a member to report fully or promptly remarks made during interesting discussions at our meetings, leads to the suggestion that a society stenographer may become one of the requirements of the

future. While his reports could be submitted to the revision of the speakers, it would always insure what is often all-important, namely: an accurate and connected report.

Let me close with a sentiment and with a statement. The one from the address of Abiel Holmes, D.D., on the Society's second anniversary, October 24, 1814, to the effect that "The knowledge of past times, if not equivalent, is next in value to experience." The other by Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., who ten years ago said of our Society, "It is entitled to whatever consideration is due to the fact that it is the oldest and most cosmopolitan archæological institution on the American continent."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, HERBERT B., Ph.D., Baltimore, Md.—His “Encouragement of Higher Education.”
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Prayer Book of the Confederate States of America; ten pamphlets; and “St. John’s Echo” and “St. Andrew’s Cross,” in continuation.
- BARTON, WILLIAM S., Esq., Worcester.—Six books; and twenty-nine pamphlets.
- BELL, Hon. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—His History of the Town of Exeter, New Hampshire; and one pamphlet.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his own publications.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Esq., Richmond, Va.—Virginia newspapers in numbers.
- CAMPBELL, Hon. JAMES V., Detroit, Mich.—His Tribute to Bishop Samuel S. Harris; Hubbard’s “Memorials of a Half Century in Michigan and the Lake Regions”; and Zeisberger’s Translation of a Collection of Hymns into the Delaware language.
- CARR, Mr. LUCIEN, Cambridge.—His “Missouri a Bone of Contention”; and three of his Archaeological Essays.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—Two manuscript volumes of monumental inscriptions, chiefly relating to the Chandler family; genealogy of the Perrin family; one book; and four pamphlets.
- COLTON, Mr. REUBEN, Worcester.—Twenty-eight pamphlets.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Esq., Cambridge.—His “Cambridge Press”; and a manuscript copy of a record relating to a disturbance concerning lands in Worcester, 1685.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Six books; fifty-six pamphlets; and two engraved portraits.
- DAVIS, Hon. J. C. BANCROFT, Washington, D. C.—His “Committees of the Continental Congress chosen to hear Appeals from Courts of Admiralty.”
- DEVENS, General CHARLES, Boston.—Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1888; and his Tribute to General Sheridan.

- DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Two College pamphlets.
- EDES, Mr. HENRY H., Charlestown.—Twenty-one pamphlets; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- GILMAN DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Five of his own brochures.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Eleven of his own publications; Sixty-six books; three hundred and eighty-seven pamphlets; and the "American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—Brown University Catalogue, 1888-9.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—One pamphlet.
- HIGGINSON, Col. THOS. WENTWORTH, Cambridge.—His "Travellers and Outlaws: Episodes in American History."
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, M.D., Amherst.—Two college pamphlets.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Five of his own publications; ninety-eight books; fourteen hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; six photographs; one map; and newspapers in numbers.
- HUNNEWELL, Mr. JAMES F., Charlestown.—His Paper on the Charlestown Navy Yard; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His address at the Consecration of St. John's Church, Blackwell's Island; and Grace Church Year Book for 1888-89.
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.—His Historical Address at Midway Meeting-House in Liberty County, Georgia, March 2, 1889; and a Sketch of his Life and Work, in "Literature" of February 9, 1889.
- McMASTER, Prof. JOHN B., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters."
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Three books; and three hundred and forty-nine pamphlets.
- MOORE, GEORGE H., LL.D., New York.—"His Historical Notes on the Introduction of Printing into New York, 1693."
- NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., Lancaster.—Lancaster, Mass., Town Reports, 1888-9.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—"The Spirit of Missions," in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Ten books; three hundred and eighty-seven pamphlets; and seven files of newspapers.
- PEABODY, Rev. ANDREW P., D.D., Cambridge.—His "Boston Mobs before the Revolution."
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Mendon, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His Sermon at the Consecration of Bishop Harrison; his Episcopal Address, 1888; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.
- PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERICK W., Cambridge.—Three of his Archæological papers.
- RICE, Hon. WILLIAM W., Worcester.—Sixty-three books; and eight pamphlets.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Esq., Worcester.—Eleven books; two hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; and twelve files of newspapers.
- SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, O.—One book and eleven pamphlets.
- STAPLES, Hon. HAMILTON B., Worcester.—A framed crayon, of the La Salle Memorial at Rouen; and his "A Day at Mt. Vernon, 1797."
- THOMAS, Hon. EDWARD I., Brookline.—Two pamphlets.
- WALKER, General FRANCIS A., Boston.—His Report as President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1888.
- WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH B., Concord, N. H.—His "History of the New Hampshire Convention, 1788."
- WILLIAMS, Mr. J. FLETCHER, St. Paul, Minn.—His Memorial Address on James L. Ridgely; four St. Paul Directories; and three selected pamphlets.
- WILSON, Sir DANIEL, Toronto, Ont.—Seven of his archæological brochures.
- WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—Four of his brochures; Harvard College Bulletin as issued; and an engraving of himself.
- WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—Proceedings of the Peabody Education Fund Trustees, 1888.

FROM NON-MEMBERS.

- ALDRICH, CHARLES F., Esq., Worcester.—A Confederate one hundred dollar bill.
- AYER, Messrs. J. C. AND COMPANY, Lowell. The Ayer Almanac for 1889, in twenty-one languages.
- BAILEY, Mr. ISAAC H., New York.—His "Shoe and Leather Reporter," as issued.
- BATES, Hon. THEODORE C., Worcester.—Fifty books; and five pamphlets.
- BLANCHARD, Messrs. FRANK S. AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Three historical pamphlets; and "The Practical Mechanic," as issued.
- BOARDMAN, Hon. SAMUEL L., Augusta, Me.—His "Eastern Farmer," as issued.
- BOWEN, Mr. CLARENCE W., *Secretary*, New York.—The circulars relating to the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of Washington.

- BRADFORD, EDWARD H., M.D., Boston.—Report of the Children's Hospital, Boston, 1887-88.
- BULLARD, Miss LOUISA D., Cambridgeport.—Seven books; and two hundred and forty pamphlets.
- BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Four selected pamphlets.
- CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Coventryville, N. Y.—His "An Ipswich Gleaning."
- CARPENTER, Mr. CHARLES C., Andover.—His "Andover Townsman," as issued.
- CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. A. F. Cambridge.—His "Notes on the History, Customs and Beliefs of the Mississaguas."
- CHANEX, Mr. HENRY A., Detroit, Mich.—His "University of Michigan Class of Sixty-nine in 1887."
- COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His "Gazette," as issued.
- COWLEY, Hon. CHARLES, Lowell.—Three of his own publications.
- CRANE, Mr. JOHN C., Millbury.—His "Peter Whitney and his History of Worcester County"; one book; nine pamphlets; four charts; and one map.
- CRUIKSHANK, Mr. ERNEST, Fort Erie, Ont.—His "Battle of Lundy's Lane."
- CURTIS, Hon. GEORGE M., New York.—Five of his pamphlet publications.
- CUTLER, Prof. U. WALDO, Worcester.—His translation of Schiller's "Song of the Bell."
- DARLING, General CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—One book.
- DAVIDSON, GEORGE, Ph.D., San Francisco, Cal.—His fac-simile of Costanzo's Chart of California.
- DAVIS, Mr. WALTER A., *City Clerk*, Fitchburg.—City Documents for 1888.
- DAYTON, Mr. HENRY H., Worcester.—His "Worcester Illustrated."
- DEWEY, Mrs. FRANCIS H., Worcester.—Thirty-two pamphlets; thirty-nine numbers of magazines; and "The Nation" for 1886.
- DICKINSON, Mr. G. STEWART, Worcester.—The International Postage Stamp Album, with a collection of stamps arranged therein.
- DOE, Messrs. CHARLES H. AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- DORAN, Mr. JOSEPH I., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Fishery Rights in the North Atlantic."
- DUREN, Mr. ELNATHAN F., Bangor, Me.—Maine Congregational Conference Reports, 1888.
- DYER, Mr. CLINTON M., Worcester.—The Massachusetts Pewter Cent.

- DYER, Lieut. GEORGE L., U. S. N.—His "Account of the Great Storm of March 11-14, 1888."
- EARLE, Mr. PLINY, 2d, *Editor*, Leicester.—Files of his "Carrier-Pigeon," 1852; and his "Heart of the Commonwealth," 1855.
- ESTES, Rev. HIRAM C., D.D., Leicester.—One historical sermon.
- EWING, Hon. THOMAS, New York.—His Marietta Address, July 15, 1888.
- FISKE, Mr. EDWARD R., Worcester.—His "Library Record," as issued.
- FLYNN, Mr. WILLIAM, Worcester.—Histories of the "Fire Service" of fourteen Massachusetts cities.
- FORD, Mr. PAUL L., *Editor*, Brooklyn, N. Y.—"Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States, 1787-88."
- FREEMAN, Miss HARRIET E., Boston.—Fifteen volumes of scrap-books, illustrating the late Civil War; and one bronze medal.
- FUNK AND WAGNELLS, Messrs., New York.—Their "Voice" as issued.
- GODDARD, Mr. LUCIUS P., Worcester.—Nine books; and ninety-eight pamphlets.
- GAGE, Mr. THOMAS H., Jr., Worcester.—Three books; and sixteen pamphlets.
- GERAULD, Mrs. JAMES H., Worcester.—Four music books.
- GIBSON BROTHERS, Messrs., Washington, D. C.—Their "American Microscopical Journal," as issued.
- Goss, ELBRIDGE H., Esq., Melrose. Melrose town reports for 1888.
- GREEN, JAMES, Esq., Worcester.—Forty pamphlets.
- GREEN, MARTIN, Esq., Worcester.—One hundred and two pamphlets; and a parcel of newspapers.
- HAMILTON, Mr. CHARLES, Worcester.—Three pamphlets.
- HAMMOND, Mrs. SARAH L., Worcester.—A framed engraving of the great fire in School Street, Worcester, 1838.
- HASSAM, JOHN T., Esq., Boston.—Suffolk Deeds, Book IV.
- HAVEN, Mrs. SAMUEL F., Worcester.—The "Unitarian Review" for 1887.
- HILDEBURN, Mr. CHARLES R., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "List of the Issues of the Press in New York. 1693-1752."
- HOADLEY, CHARLES J., Esq., Hartford, Conn.—"History of the Equestrian Statue of Israel Putnam, at Brooklyn, Conn."; and his Report on "Ancient Court Records."
- HORTON, Messrs. NATHANIEL AND SON, Salem.—Their "Gazette," as issued.
- HOSMER, Rev. SAMUEL D., Auburn.—His "Reminiscences of Cambridge and Harvard College."
- IRWIN, Hon. THEODORE, Oswego, N. Y.—The "Catalogue of his Library and a brief list of his Engravings and Etchings."

JILLSON, Hon. CLARK, Worcester.—Catalogue of rare and curious old books in his library.

KELLOGG AND STRATTON, Messrs., Fitchburg.—Their "Sentinel," as issued.

KING, FRANCIS L., Esq., Worcester.—His patent book-rest.

KING, Gen. HORATIO C., *Secretary*, New York.—"Nineteenth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac."

KING, Hon. RUFUS, New York.—His "Pedigree of King of Salem, Mass., 1595-1887"; and Constitution, etc., of the St. Nicholas Club.

LAWRENCE, Mr. ROBERT M., Boston.—His "Historical Sketches of the Lawrence Family."

LESHURE, Mr. ABNER P., Springfield.—"The Fire Service of Springfield."

LEWIS, Mr. T. H., St. Paul, Minn.—His "Minor Antiquarian Articles"; and his "Effigy Mounds in Northern Illinois."

LINCOLN, Gen. WILLIAM S., Worcester.—The "Bowdoin Orient," in continuation.

LITTLE, Prof. GEORGE T., Brunswick, Me.—Bowdoin College Catalogue, 1888.

MARVIN, Rev. ABIJAH P., Lancaster.—File of "The Advance," 1886.

MCALKEER, Mr. GEORGE, Worcester.—"The Messenger," as issued.

McKEE, Major JAMES C., U. S. A.—His "Narrative of the Surrender of a Command of United States Forces at Fort Filmore, New Mexico, 1861."

MEARS, Rev. DAVID O., D.D., Worcester.—His "Deathless Book."

MELCHER, Hon. HOLMAN S., Portland, Me.—His Inaugural Address as Mayor, 1889.

MOODY, Mr. ABRAHAM C., Lynn.—"The Fire Service of Lynn."

MOODY, Miss M. ELIZABETH, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Three pamphlets.

PEABODY, CHARLES A., M.D., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—His City Hospital Report, 1889.

PENNIMAN, Mr. EDWIN G., Worcester.—The W P I, as issued.

PHILLIPS, HENRY, Jr., Esq., Philadelphia.—His translation of Esperanto's "Attempt towards an International Language."

PILLING, Mr. JAMES C., Washington, D. C.—His "Bibliography of the Iroquoian Language."

REMICK, Mr. DAVID, Philadelphia, Pa.—"A Voyage to the South Seas in the years 1740-41."

RICE, Mr. FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—Two historical pamphlets.

RICH, Mr. MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—The "Board of Trade Journal," as issued.

- RICHARDSON, Prof. ERNEST C., Hartford, Conn.—Three pamphlets relating to the Hartford Theological Seminary.
- RIDER, Mr. SIDNEY S.—Providence, R. I.—His "Book Notes," Vol. VI., Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5.
- ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester,—The "American Missionary," "Fisk Herald," and "Life and Light for Woman," in continuation.
- ROE, Mr. ALFRED S., Worcester.—"Worcester Methodism: Its Beginnings"; Methodist Book of Discipline, 1823; "Harper's Bazar," and "The Old Guard," in continuation.
- SHELDON, Hon. GEORGE, Deerfield.—One pamphlet.
- SLATER, Rev. EDMUND F., *Registrar*, Boston.—His Fifth Annual Report for the Diocese of Massachusetts.
- SLEEPER, Rev. WILLIAM W., *Editor*, Worcester.—"The Harvester," as issued.
- SMITH, Mr. HENRY M., Worcester.—His "Worcester Home Journal," as issued.
- SPAULDING, Mr. EDWIN H., Nashua, N. H.—New Hampshire Registers for 1887 and 1888; and two pamphlets.
- STEWART, Hon. WILLIAM M., Carson City, Nev.—His Speech on "Money answereth all things."
- TOWNE, ENOCH H., Esq., *City Clerk*, Worcester.—The City Documents for 1885 and 1886.
- TUCKERMAN, Mr. JOSEPH, Newport, R. I.—"A Memorial of Rev. Joseph Tuckerman."
- TURNER, Mr. JOHN N., AYER.—His "Groton Landmark," as issued.
- UTLEY, Mr. HENRY M., *Librarian*, Detroit, Michigan.—His Eighth Annual Report.
- VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., Worcester.—The Year Book of All Saints. Worcester.
- WALL, Mr. JAMES H., Worcester.—"The Academe" and the "Park Observer," as issued.
- WEEKS, Mr. ROBERT D., Newark, N. J.—"Weeks Family Meeting, 1888."
- WILKINSON, Mrs. CHARLES, Worcester.—Sewell's "Large Dictionary, English and Dutch."
- WINSLOW, Hon. SAMUEL, *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Fourth Inaugural Address. 1889.
- WOOD, Mr. GEORGE, Jamestown, N. Y.—Photograph of a view of Westminster, Massachusetts, painted in 1831.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their publications, as issued.

- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Their Transactions, as issued.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their "Missionary Magazine," as issued.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN MICROSCOPICAL SOCIETY.—One pamphlet.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—Their "Sailor's Magazine," as issued.
- AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Their publications, as issued.
- ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—The bronze medal issued in commemoration of their 250th anniversary.
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The Catalogue for 1888-89.
- ASTOR LIBRARY.—The Fortieth Annual Report.
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their Seventeenth Annual Report.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Catalogue of the Barton Collection, Part II.; and the Bulletin, as issued.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Their publications, as issued.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Report, and Bulletin for 1888.
- COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.—Catalogues of the College for 1885-86 and 1887-88.
- COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—Fifteen pamphlets; and the "Political Science Quarterly," as issued.
- CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—The Annual Report for 1887-88.
- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Four Books,
- ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY.—The Third Annual Report.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—The Publications, as issued.
- FLETCHER FREE LIBRARY, Burlington, Vt.—The Fifteenth Annual Report.
- GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- GOOD HEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Good Health," as issued.
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—The Annual Reports, 1887-88.
- HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.—Their publications, as issued.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Their publications, as issued.
- HISTORISCHER VEREIN VON OBERPLATZ UND REGENSBURG.—Their publications, as issued.
- IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Their publications, as issued.

- KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Report for 1887-88.
- LANCASTER PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-sixth Annual Report.
- MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued, including "Archives of Maryland: Correspondence of Gov. Horatio Sharpe, Vol. I., 1753-1757."
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Five State documents of 1887.
- MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.—The Seventy-fifth Annual Report.
- MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections, Vol. III., 6th Series; and two pamphlets.
- MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Forty-sixth Report of Births, Marriages and Deaths in Massachusetts.
- MERRIDEN SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION.—Their Transactions, Vol. III., 1887-1888.
- MIDDLESEX COUNTY RECORD SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings November 27, 1888.
- MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—Their Eighty-third Annual Report.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE, STATE OF.—The Annual Reports, 1888.
- NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued; and one historical pamphlet.
- NEW MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Baltimore, Md.—Their First Annual Report.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Twelve New York State documents.
- OHIO STATE LIBRARY.—Eleven Ohio State documents.
- OWEN CORNELL PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"The Weekly," as issued.
- PEABODY REPORTER COMPANY.—"The Reporter," as issued.
- PEABODY INSTITUTION AND MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND.—Their Fifty-second Annual Report.
- PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE.—The Catalogue, 1888.
- PENNSYLVANIA AGRICULTURE.—The Fifty-third Annual Report.
- RAILROAD AND CANAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF NORWAY.—Some of the university publications.

SAN FRANCISCO MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Their Thirty-sixth Annual Report.

SAN FRANCISCO FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report, 1888.

ST. LOUIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Annual Report of the Library, 1886-87.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—The publications, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE.—Their publications, as issued.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their publications, as issued.

SOCIETY SONS OF REVOLUTIONARY SIRS.—Their Memorial Bulletin, No. IV., Series of 1888.

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY, Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly, as issued.

TOPEKA FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its "Select List," No. 1; and First Supplement.

TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their "Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—The "Circulars of Information"; and the Annual Report.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.—The Fifth Annual Report.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Ninety-nine books; and ninety-eight pamphlets.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Seventy-one volumes of Public Documents.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—Three reports of the department.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Six public documents.

WEDNESDAY CLUB OF WORCESTER.—Their Kalendar for Lent, 1889.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-one files of newspapers.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—One hundred and fifty-three books; eight hundred and twenty-eight pamphlets; and one hundred and twenty-four files of newspapers.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—Three books; and the "New York Evening Post," in continuation.

ILLUSTRATED AMERICANA. (1493-1624.)

BY JAMES F. HUNNEWELL.

ILLUSTRATED books on America have been made ever since its discovery by Columbus was announced to the world. Along with examples of nearly all styles and qualities of engraving, they also show us an even greater variety of what has been learned, or imagined, about the western hemisphere. Maps, which are very numerous, form a class by themselves, as in later times do almost countless woodcuts. Before 1590 the latter were, however, about the only sort of engravings relating to the New World, and to some examination of them and of the plate engravings that followed them we turn our attention.

In the great mass of works known as Americana the number of those that can be called illustrated is, until recent years, relatively small, yet they afford more than ample matter for a limited paper. Accordingly the present paper will be confined to those produced before English colonization was to any considerable extent begun. The matter we find is significant for what it shows as well as for what it does not show. If it furnishes much less full and precise information than is given by some type, it still presents not a little that is important and interesting, and the plates often prove to be no mere curiosities or embellishments.

At the outset we recall a remark by Harrisse, that "it is curious to notice how few of the original books relating to the early history of the New World can be found in the public libraries of Europe,"—or, we may add, anywhere else except as the greatest rarities. It is a circumstance that indicates, as he says in another place, "the compara-

tively limited and transient effect produced upon the public mind by the discovery of America." The early engravings in works relating to this subject strengthen such an opinion.

The event, that we now know was so important, occurred in no age of dulness and ignorance—mediæval as it was—but at a time of wonderful awakening in thought, enterprise, and art. In literature, the Bible, works of the Greek and Roman authors, of the great Italian poets, and of a large number of writers then modern, had been printed, and that too in marvellous style, often on a grand scale, or in various editions. Twenty years earlier the "Geographia" of Strabo had been twice printed at Rome, and once at Venice. Of Ptolemy's "Cosmographia" there had been several editions, one of them, in 1478, with copper-plate maps, others with remarkably large wood-cut maps. As early as 1475 an essay at Universal History, illustrated, had appeared—the "Rudimentum Noviciarum" at Lubeck, and while Columbus was first westward bound engravers were cutting the blocks for the Nuremburg Chronicle, its largest view measuring twenty-one by thirteen and one-half inches. Military art had been illustrated by very spirited and well drawn cuts in the "Valturius" at Verona, 1472, republished with some changes in 1483. Copper or metal plate engravings had appeared in the Monte Santo di Dio, 1477; in the Dante of 1481, and probably the Triumphs of Petrarch. In 1486, a book of travels, the Perigrinatio of Breydenbach, had been issued with very notable wood-cuts, some fine and small, some very large—the view of Venice being no less than four feet three and one-half inches long. There were at least three editions of this work before 1492. Even that sometimes despised bit of geography, the local guide-book, had appeared as early as 1473 in the "Mirabilia Romæ," and in the "Libellus" of Arnold of Brussels at Naples, 1475.

At the close of the fifteenth century there were certainly art and enterprise enough to illustrate a subject that was

considered important or of interest. Even devices thought to be modern, possibly inventions of the astute Yankee, were then known. We have heard of the recent wood-cut that portrays a candidate for the State House, or the State Prison, but Anthony Coburger knew all that sort of useful economy, and more than that, for he could make the same block give a view of Damascus, Naples, Perugia, Verona, and several other dissimilar places. Publishers now-a-days could give the pioneers points on art, but hardly, it seems, in enterprise.

It was in an age of invention and bold undertaking, that as Irving wrote, "the great mystery of the ocean was revealed," and a new world was opened to Europe. Yet what did art then, and for generations indeed, do to illustrate it and make it known?

The printers' services, of course, were the first to be used. A Spanish letter describing the event appeared and was hastily translated into Latin and issued in over half a dozen forms at about as many places. Poor, thin, cheap, little tracts, some of them padded with wood-cuts, ornamental as the art was, illustrative as ships in general were, properly demonstrative so far as a coat of arms went, nothing to show what the New World or its discoverer were like—only a few curious examples of guess-work by the engravers. Yet slight as these tracts are in mere size, or as examples of early printing and engraving, they have become crown jewels in a collection of Americana, so rare that probably no one library has originals of all the editions. Two series that are renowned the world over, and that happily still exist, help to do honor to members of this Society—the late Mr. James Lenox of New York, and Mr. John Nicholas Brown of Providence. To the latter, it should be added, a facsimile of a recently discovered edition has been dedicated.

Quickly following the printed letter came (October 25, 1493), a poem by Giuliano Dati, a popular Italian poet, giving the account in rhyme, and in a second edition (the

next day) a view of the strange land. So far as this was represented in any of the cuts, it was as a sort of Eden just before and after the fall, with a good many Eves.

As scanty illustration was given to the early published accounts of the discoveries by Vespuccius. For instance, a thin quarto issued at Nuremburg, about 1505, has three escutcheons and a sort of portrait of the King of Portugal, and a Dutch tract issued in 1509-10, also describing the third voyage, has four rude cuts, two of which are repeated. Men and women are represented with long hair and bows and arrows. We cannot at the same time help noticing a fact recently spoken about—that the name of the discoverer appears to have been Alberico, and not Amerigo. It is the former in sixteen out of nineteen early accounts, as the writer notes them. The amount of exact information that can be given by cuts like these in the earliest quartos, and of the different opinions that can be formed from them, may be shown by the description that two learned men have printed of a cut (four and one-fourth by three and one-fourth inches) in the first German edition of the Columbus letter. It represents an open country in which a bare-footed figure, with a sort of halo around his head, stands conversing with a king who wears a crown and holds a sceptre, behind whom are three or four men in robes, and another man bearing a large sword. One says it is “the king receiving Columbus,” the other that it is “the apprehension of Christ in the Garden.”

By 1503 an account of the discoveries appeared not in pamphlet form but in a thick folio, the “*Supplementum Chronicarum*,” published at Venice. Small square woodcuts, views of cities, vary, if they do not adorn, the pages, but the short account of America is not illustrated, as is the case in the edition of 1513, also Venetian, although both editions contain a full-page view of the creation of Eve.

Only a few scattered cuts, indeed, appeared for some years afterwards, as before, in publications about the New

World, and even these could be called little more than book ornaments by courtesy.

In 1522, John of Desborowe printed (at Antwerp?) a quarto of twenty-two pages with half a dozen cuts,—said to be the first book in English containing a notice of America. The same year an edition of Ptolemy was published at Strasbourg, containing, besides forty-nine maps, fourteen wood-cuts (about seven and one-fourth by three and three-fourths inches). They give very dubious, if any, hints about America, but very positive representations of animals and supposed human beings of a sort we hope science will never discover and introduce to us. At about this date appeared a short anonymous account of Yucatan, in German, with two wood-cuts, both repeated, although hardly for their beauty. One of them shows three evil-looking men, dressed like Europeans, engaged in chopping up babies. Harrisse also mentions five cuts in Oviedo's "*Natural General Historia de las Indias*" (Toledo, 1526), but they are of slight account. A folio by Laurent Fries (Strasbourg, 1527), contains an account of America, and eleven cuts. It is a very rare book, not yet seen by the writer, but it is mentioned as one of the few works with illustrations at this period.

In 1528 appeared at Venice the "*Isole del Mondo*," by Benedetto Bordone, with one hundred and five maps, most of them small, and seven wood-cuts. One of the latter is a view (six and one-half inches square) labelled "*La gran citta di Temistitan*," that is unmistakably Mexico, surrounded by water and reached by causeways. Although the workmanship is rude, there seems to be reason to think that the main features of the view are truthful. Unskilful as were some of the engravers at and before this time, there is good evidence that they, as well as their superiors in art, could strikingly delineate prominent points in a view. A generation earlier this fact was proved by the large cut of Nuremburg in the famous Chronicle of 1493,

by the really immense view of Venice, already mentioned, and by five views of Cologne in its far rarer Chronicle of 1499, where the unfinished Dom with the huge old crane is sketched as some of us remember it was thirty years ago.

At the period now mentioned events were occurring in the New World that might not only arouse imagination—and to a greater degree than its discovery, peopled as it then seemed to be by savages—but that were of evident importance in their effect on European politics. Two hitherto unknown and unthought of empires were found, and were subjugated, by Spain, whose wealth and power were thus greatly increased. El Dorado and Ophir, with all they could yield, seemed to have been opened and to have been seized by a strong, aggressive European state. Wonders in nature and strange works of man were disclosed. New, and, we would think, attractive subjects for the engraver were found. In the course of thirty years his art had advanced and was more generally practised. Nature and architecture were, indeed, still imperfectly sketched, but the human form and its costumes were often portrayed in masterly style. The work was still, to a great extent, on wood, but it had grown remarkable, not only for its character, but also for the variety of its subjects and the ability of the artists. Lucas Cranach illustrated the Bible, Holbein the younger, religious books, Albert Dürer showed genius in many a way, and Hans Burgmair with his associates had drawn the marvellous “Triumphs of Maximilian.” Virgil, Caesar, Terence, and other classic authors had also been illustrated. Even the not very forward art of England had produced the Book of St. Albans¹ (1486), and the Mirror of the World (1481) and the Golden Legend (1484–87) by Caxton.

Yet the conquest and exploration of Mexico (1519–21), and of Peru (1532—about 35), were, for a long time at least, very slightly noticed in art. The Renaissance while

¹ It has one hundred and nineteen cuts but they are only small ones of shields.

it despised mediæval art, or gave little attention to any other than classic, and in a way almost worshipped that—and at the same time ruthlessly destroyed Roman works—could not be expected to bestow much thought on the monuments of aboriginal America, or the characteristics of the natives. The schools of landscape art, and the feelings and study that made them, were undeveloped. Scientific observation and drawing were limited or imperfect. However much we may regret that so little was done during most of the sixteenth century to illustrate the antiquities and condition of America, it was not strange, it was a matter of course, in regard to the antiquities, for with all the worship of classic art, it was only until some half a dozen generations later that even this began to be at all adequately illustrated.

We cannot, however, help noticing how little was done in an age of engraving applied to subjects then of interest, to show events in the conquest of the New World and the features and manners of its people. Opinions about the Spanish conquests and earlier rule in America have often been strongly expressed by voice or in type. Hardly less marked is the silent evidence by neglect that art has left. While it was giving new expression to the records or ideals of Christian faith, or to the thoughts of great authors, and was glorifying the altars and palaces of Europe by its noblest efforts, it did not stoop to portray the atrocities of adventurers, bold and lucrative as might be their robberies even in the realms of the Montezumas and the Incas.

In the first, or early, editions of the histories of the conquests issued before 1590 we find almost as many books as plates, and few works that could be called illustrated. Gomara's *Indies and Conquest of Mexico*, Çaragoça, 1552, besides a map has a plate of a buffalo. Cieça de Leon's *Chronicle of Peru*,¹ a 12^o, Seville, 1553, has wood-cuts in

¹ Three parts, only the first of which was issued above (reissued, Anvers, 1554). The second is missing, the third has been printed in this century.

the text, as also has Zarete's *Discovery and Conquest*, another 12°, Seville, 1555. With Thevet's "*La France Antaretique*," Paris, 1558, relating largely to Brazil, and containing unusually good wood-cuts, the French press had an early representation among illustrated Americana.

Only a bibliography, and that one of minor things, can note all the scattered plates or cuts relating to America that appeared during the next thirty-five years. A sketch of the more notable does not, however, require great space.

Between 1550 and 1583 various editions of Ramusio's *Collection of Voyages* were published at Venice, with about forty cuts. Several of these, good for the times, relate to the natives or the natural history of the Spanish possessions, one of the largest showing the temple in Mexico (III., 307), and another (308) the city with its environs. The *Cosmography* of Sebastian Munster was apparently a popular book at this period, as there were several editions. It is a corpulent folio of a thousand four hundred and seventy-five pages containing accounts of the whole world, and of some things never therein, illustrated by over nine hundred cuts, including not a few repeated. Five leaves with eight cuts are all that are allotted to the "New Islands" and world, the latter described under a heading of Asiatic Lands. One cut shows a man and woman, in what is called the garb of nature, dismembering a human being on a table, while another cut shows the man, who had acquired German clothes and imported European hardware, sitting comfortably on a stool beside a slow fire, over which he turns a spit thrust through the human body, then headless. As the same cut is used to illustrate the industries of other countries any objection solely to the original native American cooking is averted.

On this it seems popular subject, Hans Staden issued at Frankfort (1556), a small quarto with a history of the lands "of the wild, naked, cruel cannibals" in the New World, fully illustrated. It was speedily translated from German

into Flemish, and sundry times published in the Low Countries. The size was decreased to the more handy 12°, but the cuts were retained, and the descriptive adjectives were increased so that the alleged Americans were also called "most ungodly." So popular was the work that it was published at Amsterdam as late as 1627.

Natural history of a milder type was a favorite subject so far as one could be while books were few. The "*Historia Medicinal*" of the West Indies, by Dr. Monardes (Seville, 1574, 80), contained a dozen wood-cuts of plants. John Frampton's "*Joyfull Newes*" (London, 1577), a translation had them of animals as well as plants.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the engraver's art was at length applied on a large scale, and in fine work, to illustrate American subjects. Theodore de Bry of Liège, born in 1528, who spent most of his long life at Frankfort-on-the-Main, was a skilful engraver. In 1587¹ he went to England, where Richard Hakluyt, already engaged on a *Collection of Voyages*,² advised him to undertake one of his own illustrated with designs from nature. A series on each of the Indies was undertaken by him, and six parts on the West were issued during the last years of his life (1590-98).³ His sons, John Theodore and John Israel, already associated with him, continued the work until they died (1612? and 1623), and Matthew Marian, who had married a sister, carried it on for some years longer. Thirteen parts were published in Latin, making fourteen in a German edition, and there were additions and reimpres-sions, all in folio. The first part, if no other, was also issued in English and in French. Only a discourse of more than the dimensions of an old fashioned New England one could contain an account of the intricacies of the whole collection, and it is enough to state here that owing to these

¹ Camus, p. 13.

² Coll., 1589, and 2d ed., 1598-1600, without plates.

³ Camus, p. 15.

features, and to the rarity of many parts, few persons for at least a century have made a nearly complete set. Possession of a partial one is apt to give a sensation of delight to common mortals. Again the names of at least two members of this Society, Messrs. Lenox and Brown, are associated with two wonderful collections of books—their sets of the works of the DeBrys.

Historical order was not followed in publication. Something new was apparently thought needed to start the series; accordingly the first part (1590) contained Harriot's Account of Virginia, written in 1588. The next part (1591), Le Moyne's Three Expeditions to Florida (1564–68), was in one sense also a novelty. Le Moyne was an artist of Dieppe who had been sent to observe and portray, and who after great trials reached England, where DeBry found him in 1587.

It was not until the fourth part was reached that the discovery of America was described, as it is in the History by Jerome Benzono, several times earlier printed, and here continued in the next part, where there is a fine portrait of Columbus. Not until the tenth part were the first and second voyages of Vespuccius treated. In other parts, America from New England to the extreme south, and also circumnavigations, are described, the latest date of a voyage being 1617, and of publication 1624.

It has been said that DeBry copied from wood-cuts in Thevet's "*La France Antarctique*" (Paris, 1558), and also from those in Benzon's "*Historia del Mondo Nuovo*" (Venetia, 1565), but the latter cuts, only eighteen in number and three and one-eighth by two and three-eighths inches, and not elaborate, seem, if they were used, to have been little more than suggestions to DeBry for his elaborate and extensive series. His plates, executed on copper, and in varying merit, number about two hundred and sixty-five, besides a moderate number of maps. Some are in the text, but generally they are placed together at the ends

of the parts, and occupy the upper half of the page, on the lower half of which is a printed description.

The range of subjects is very great. There are conceptions of mythology from classic to Aztec, of nature from carefully drawn realities to impossible monstrosities, of mankind from wild savages to Spaniards dressed with surprising precision. Never before, perhaps never since, has such a series of illustrations of the New World and the Western Ocean appeared, with customs and scenes portrayed, as is this series prepared and issued by the DeBrys in that quaint, mediæval-looking, interior city of Frankfort. Along with all the variety of people and things that it showed we can hardly help noticing that it tried to show some justice to the Indians, and also that it did not neglect what was thought due reference to some of our British ancestors. The fearful trials of the American aborigines are vividly illustrated, as also are the missionary labors of some of their conquerors, who, it is evident, successfully taught at least the meaning of the word hell, until they may have suggested to the simple red men that it was a biblical name for a Spanish colony.

In order to hint at what the Indians might become under favoring circumstances, and perhaps also to modify the pride of white men then living, or forthcoming, is the reference to early inhabitants of Britain, whereby in exceptionally large plates is shown their savage mein, as well as what seems to have been their chief art—that of combining the maximum of tattooing with the minimum of tailoring.

While the DeBrys were publishing their collection, Levinus Hulse issued another, that after his death (1606) was continued until 1650 by his widow or successors, chiefly at Frankfort.¹ Small quartos, usually thin, with plates inferior to those in the rival folios, they seem to have been cheaper books for popular use, and hence apt to be

¹There were twenty-six parts, eleven of which with thirty-three maps and sixty-three plates are on American subjects. Eight of the eleven parts were also issued by the DeBrys.

worn out or lost, so that they are now very rare. In them America was illustrated from the Straits of Magellan to, at least, Newfoundland. During more than half a century these two collections must have done a great deal to make the New World better known. If their plates now give us less information than we want, it is simply because art at their date was directed more by imagination than by exact research.

Until 1624, when the issue of the Great Voyages by the DeBrys ceased, the presses of Italy, Germany, Spain, Basle, London, and of the Low Countries had supplied illustrated books on America. Italy was foremost in time, Germany, and then Spain came next, closely followed by the Low Countries, where the production of such books became remarkable. One of the earliest issues from the London press, later than any of these, was in 1559, Wm. Cunningham's "*Cosmical Glasse*," a folio with small woodcuts. The French press after Thevet's work, in 1558, supplied little of special note until 1613, when Champlain's *Voyages* appeared.

For Germany, the native land of successful printing, a pre-eminence in illustrative art was maintained by the DeBrys and Hulse. Apart from their works, however, fully one-half of the illustrated books on America issued between 1550 and 1624 were produced in the Low Countries, many at Antwerp, and still more at Amsterdam. Changes in the engraver's art, along with its greater diffusion were to follow. The seas with their rovers and wonders, and the far southern regions were more fully shown. Through the earlier period of colonization, where the stars and stripes were to wave, there was little enough engraved to show the land or its people, but illustrations of both were to increase in quantity and excellence, as has pretty much all else pertaining to the continental republic.

NOTE. It is proposed by the writer to continue this subject to recent times. As only a bibliography of impracticable size could present the full titles or references to all the works or additions mentioned, or that could be included, the notes to this paper have been made brief.

THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

BY JOHN T. DOYLE.

MENLO PARK, *November 24, 1888.*

COL. J. D. WASHBURN,

Dear Sir:

IN October, 1873, you did me the honor to present to the American Antiquarian Society a memorandum of mine on the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco, wherein I advanced the opinion that the first civilized men who saw it were the members of Portala's expedition, which came up the coast in 1769; and that what the Spaniards had down to that time called the Bay of San Francisco, was what we now term Sir Francis Drake's Bay. These opinions have been since accepted I think, by most persons who have examined the question, and have lately received confirmation such as I think sets it at rest, on contemporary authority. I now have the pleasure of transmitting to you, for the Society's collection, a copy of the document referred to, which comes to me as follows:—

Professor George Davidson, Ph.D., who is at the head of the coast survey, on this side of the continent, had his attention directed to the subject, in connection with the preparation of a new edition of his "Coast Pilot" for publication by the government. He studied it thoroughly and from various sources of information was led to the same opinion I had formed relative to the identity of the Spanish Bay of San Francisco, and our Drake's Bay. On reading Crespi's diary, with the record of Costanzo's observations for latitude at each day's halt (which he found as a general rule

remarkably correct), a professional instinct at once told him that so careful and accurate an observer as Costanzo had not failed to leave a record of his own; and that in all probability he had, on his return, made a map of the coast so far as his observations extended. Acting on this opinion Prof. Davidson set on foot enquiries for such a map, and was rewarded by the discovery that it had not only been prepared and furnished to the Spanish government, but had actually been engraved and printed as early as 1771. It is entitled "Carta reducida, del océano Asiático, o mar del sur, que comprehende la costa oriental y occidental de la península de la California, con el golfe de su denominacion, antiguamente conocido por la de mar de Cortez, y de las costas de la America septentrional, desde el istmo, que une dicha península con el continente hasta el rio de los reyes, y desde el rio Colorado, hasta el cabo de Corrientes. Compuesta del orden del Exmo. Señor Marquis de Croix, Vivey, gobernador y capitán general de la nueva España, y de los exercitos de S.M."

Under the title is a note in which Costanzo, under date of Oct. 30, 1770, enumerates the materials from which his chart is compiled, giving prominence to the observations of the commanders of the packet boats which had recently made voyages up the coast, and those of the missionaries, etc., and modestly placing last the information acquired by himself in his journeys by land and sea, and his observations made on the spot. It is as follows:—

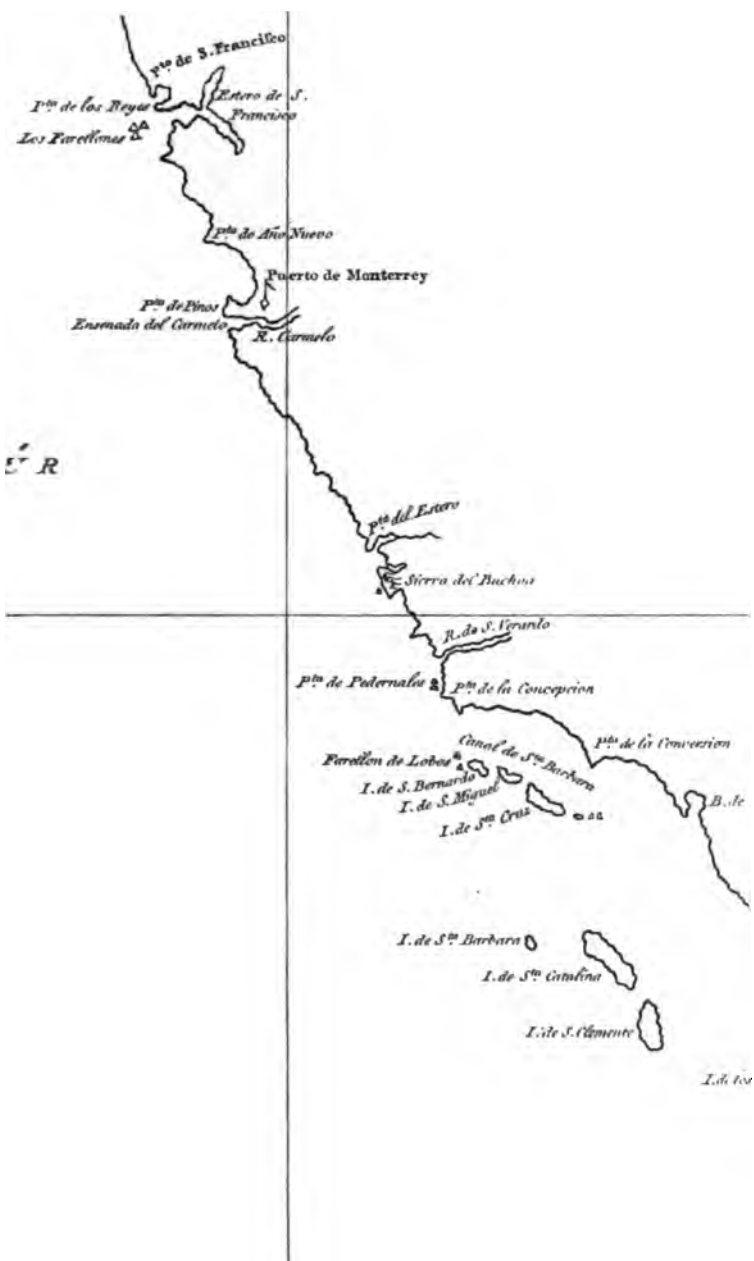
"Los materiales que han servido a la formacion de esta carta son, en primer lugar, los diarios de los pilotos que han navegado en el mar del sur en los últimos viages hechos a la California, y al norte de ella, a los puertos de S. Diego y Monterey; con especialidad los de D. Vincent Vila, Piloto del numo. de primeros de la real armada, y Comandante de los Paquetbotes de S.M. destinados a la expedicion Maritima, que se dirigió a dichas puertos; y los diarios de navegacion, del 'Paquetbote el S. Antonio' en su viage hecho en el presente año de 1770, con el proprio

objeto de dicha expedicion, la qual ha tenido exito tan feliz, que habiendo este mismo paquetbote el S. Antonio llegado de a 31 de Mayo de 1770 al puerto de Monterey y hechado ancoras en el proprio puerto y fondeadero, donde 168 anos estuvo surta la Esquadra del General Sebastian Vizcaino, enbiada al descubrimiento de estas costas por el Conde de Monterey, de orden de Senor Filipe III, y habiendo tambien llegado por tierra el 23 del citado mes y ano la tropa destinada al mismo fin, se ha fundado en Monterey un Presidio y Mision con la advocacion de S. Carlos, y se forman iguales establecimientos en los fertiles paises por donde transito la gente de la expedicion, sin al adamente en el puerto de S. Francisco, ocupado ahora de nuevo por los nuestros. Han contribuido a la mismo algunos fragmentes manuscritos, de la costa interior y exterior de la California, hallados entre los papeles de susantiguos misioneros con explicaciones relativas al asunto y otros documentos, franqueados por algunos particulares, de orden de este superior Gobierero consernientes a la costa de senora; por ultimos las noticias adquiridas por el autor en sus viages de Mar y Tierra rectifiados por varias observaciones hechos en los lugares y terreno que ha corrido.

“Mexico y Octubre 30 de 1770 # Miguel Costanzo, longitud del meridiano de Teneriffe.”

This map Prof. Davidson had carefully traced, and, at my suggestion, he now presents a photograph of the tracing to the Society. On it you will observe, the “Puerto de San Francisco” is laid down as immediately contiguous to the “Punta de los Reyes,” and the sheet of water forming the bays of San Francisco, San Pablo and Suisun (popularly included in the general designation of the Bay of San Francisco), is delineated with considerable accuracy of outline, and designated as the “*Estero de San Francisco*,” a name then for the first time introduced to the Spanish geography of this coast.

In my memorandum of 1873 above referred to, it is stated that Portala's expedition, keeping close to the ocean shore, advanced as far up the coast as Half Moon Bay, and designated the headland which shelters that roadstead from the



north as "Point Guardian Angel." The author of Vol. XIII. of Bancroft's History of the Pacific States, at pages 155 and 156, expresses the opinion that the expedition reached what we now call Point San Pedro, giving his reasons. The difference is not important, but as accuracy is never objectionable, I may be permitted to point out here, that this map of Costanzo confirms my conjecture that Half Moon Bay was the northern limit of their explorations. You will observe that up to and including that point the coast line is traced on it with remarkable accuracy, the headland which shuts in Half Moon Bay on the north being perfectly recognizable by its outline and direction, but all to the northward of this is evidently "sketched in," and the accuracy of the outline gradually diminishes with the increasing distance. No notice is taken of Point San Pedro, three only of the Farallones are laid down, and when Point Reyes is reached, all claim to accuracy has disappeared. In fact the outline is just such as it would appear through our hazy autumnal atmosphere, to one looking down from the summit of the hills overlooking Half Moon Bay, which are at the point where I suppose the explorers to have ascended them, from 1000 to 1200 feet high. The fact that the traditional "Puerto de San Francisco" of the Spanish voyagers wherein the *San Augustin* was wrecked in 1595, and which was visited by Vizcaino in 1603, and was for a century and a half thereafter lost sight of, was a different place from that known by the same name at the present day, explains and accounts for all the confusion referred to by the author of Bancroft's Vol. XIII., in his note, p. 157. When I first called public attention to Crespi's diary, in August, 1870, I was under the same erroneous impression as Dwinelle, Randolph, Oak and others, that the Spanish Bay of San Francisco and the present bay of that name were identical. It was only after carefully studying the various documents brought to light in Palou's Noticias, and some contained in our archives, that I was led to the opinion—

now reduced to certainty—that they were different; that what they called the “Puerto de San Francisco,” was Drake’s bay, and that the present bay of San Francisco was absolutely unknown to them until discovered by Portala’s expedition in October, 1769.

The author of Bancroft’s Vol. XIII., says at p. 157 :

“There has been much perplexity in the minds of modern writers respecting the Port of San Francisco, resulting from want of familiarity with the original records, and the later transfer of the name to another bay. These writers have failed to clear away the difficulties that seemed to surround the subject.” In a note he adds, “Certain exceptions should be noted. My assistant, in the *Overland Monthly*, made known for the first time to the English reading public, the statements of Cabrera Bueno and Crespi, and in a few brief notes put the subject in its true light. Doyle, in notes to his reprint of Palou, subsequently gave a correct version and several writers since have partially utilized the information thus presented.”

This statement, so far as it relates to Cabrera Bueno’s book, may pass as true; but so far as regards Crespi’s diary, it is (I regret, for the honor of our Pacific Coast “historian” to say it) quite the reverse. I called the attention of English speaking people, including Mr. Bancroft and the members of the “History Company,” to Crespi’s diary, and quoted its statements as to the discovery of this bay of San Francisco, in August, 1870, in a public address delivered at the commencement of Santa Clara college, which was printed and circulated at the time. A copy was sent to Mr. Bancroft, and is referred to in his Vol. XIII., at pp. 141 and 156. Again in October, 1873, it was referred to in the “Memorandum” read by you before our Society, printed in its published proceedings, and thus laid before the English reading public. Mr. Bancroft having from the former of these sources learned the existence of Crespi’s diary, and having thereafter procured a copy of the work

containing it, his assistant, Mr. H. L. Oak, published an account of it and of Cabrera Bueno's book, in the *Overland Monthly* for June, 1874, eight months after the publication of this Society's proceedings above referred to. These are the facts, as shown by the printed publications in their order. A writer of history should be truthful and accurate about matters resting in his own knowledge, else confidence can not be placed in his compilations.

May I trouble you so much as to be the medium of presenting Prof. Davidson's gift to the Society, and laying this note before them?

I am, dear sir,

Yours, very respectfully,

JOHN T. DOYLE.

NEPHRITE AND JADEITE.

BY LEONARD P. KINNICUTT.

At the semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society held at Worcester, April 28, 1886, Prof. F. W. Putnam exhibited a collection of celts and ornaments, made of a green stone and known under the general term of jade, which were found in burial places in Nicaragua and Costa Rica. He pointed out that as this particular stone was not found *in situ* in America, possibly the original possessors of the implements brought them from Asia, where this variety of jade was known to occur. Among the specimens now in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, are one elaborately carved celt, one large plain celt, and nine other specimens, either halves, quarters or smaller pieces of celts, all obtained from burial places in Central America. There are also similar celts and small axe-shaped implements made of the same mineral, obtained from the pile-dwellings of the Swiss lakes.

The finding of halves, quarters and smaller pieces of celts, and especially of two pieces which when united proved to be the two portions of a half celt, which had been perforated to be suspended as an ornament, and afterwards cut on a line through the hole and so made into two ornaments in each of which a hole was cut, shows that the original celts gradually became very rare and valuable, and were then cut and recut and cherished as ornaments, until finally these specimens were deposited in the burial mounds. As Prof. Putnam has stated, such facts deserve the most careful consideration as records of the probable migration from Asia of the ancient people of Central America.

Since Prof. Putnam's paper several articles have appeared on the discovery of jade in Alaska; and the view held by Prof. Fischer and brought forward independently by Prof. Putnam at the meeting of 1886 has been severely criticised. The term jade has been and is used to designate at least two different minerals, both of which are very hard green stones with a high specific gravity, and having about the same degree of fusibility. These two minerals, nephrite and jadeite, are, however, as regards their composition very different. Nephrite is a silicate of lime and magnesia, containing a little iron oxide and alumina, while jadeite is a silicate of alumina and soda, containing small amounts of iron oxide, lime and magnesia.

Since Alaska belonged to the United States it has been visited by many official expeditions. A number of worked specimens of "jade" have been found, and the stone itself has been found, *in situ*, north of the Kowak river, about one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth.¹ A large collection of these specimens were recently examined and analyzed by Prof. F. W. Clarke and G. P. Merrill of the United States Geological Survey, and the results thus obtained proved that all the specimens are nephrite, not a single jadeite having been found among them.² The specimens obtained from Central America and Mexico are, however, not nephrite but jadeite, and it does not appear that a single true nephrite has yet been obtained from these localities.³ In South America we again find objects made of nephrite, and Prof. A. Derby states that all the "jades" described by Dr. L. Netto from the valley of the Amazon, are nephrite and not jadeite.⁴ Therefore the question asked

¹ Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum, 1888, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*

³ A. P. Meyer. Ueber Nephrit und ähnlichem Material aus Alaska. Jahresbericht [xxi.] des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden, 1884. F. W. Clarke and G. P. Merrill. Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum, 1888, pp. 122 and 125.

⁴ Museo Nacional, Río de Ganaro. Vol. 6, 1888, p. 527.

by Prof. Putnam, "What is the original source of the jadeite objects found in Central America and Mexico?" still remains unanswered.

Mr. Dawson, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, in a paper published in 1887,¹ seems to consider the question fully answered by the discovery of nephrite in Alaska, and gives a translation of Prof. Meyer's paper, in which the same opinion is maintained. The finding of nephrite in Alaska, even, as it is claimed, *in situ*, does not answer the question concerning the occurrence of worked jadeite in Mexico and Central America. The fact that a hard green stone—used by the natives of Alaska, and not by the ancient people of Central America—is found in Alaska, does not prove that a different hard green stone, revered by the early inhabitants of Central America, occurs *in situ* on this continent.

The statements, therefore, made by Prof. Putnam, that jadeite is not known to occur *in situ* in America, and that implements and ornaments found in Nicaragua and Costa Rica agree in all respects with the Asiatic jadeite, and that, consequently, the finding of these objects in the burial mounds of Central America tends to show that the original possessors of the implements, from which the ornaments were made, brought them from Asia, have all their original force and are in no way invalidated by the publications of Meyer and Dawson.

I may state that I have examined a number of specimens of nephrite and jadeite, including the jadeites from Central America now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, specimens of nephrite from Alaska, South America and New Zealand, and also jadeite from Asia. Many of the specimens were carved and of high polish and great beauty, and could not be sacrificed for the purpose of quantitative analysis. Of the many analyses made I only give in this

¹ Canadian Record of Science. Vol. 2. No. 6, April, 1887.

place those necessary to show the essential identity of the nephrite from Alaska with that of New Zealand, and its dissimilarity to the Asiatic jadeite, which corresponds with the jadeite from Central America.

No. 1. A small piece of the New Zealand nephrite. Color, light green. Specific gravity 3.002.

No. 2. A small implement from the pile-dwellings, St. Aubin, Switzerland. Color, light green. Specific gravity 3.015.

No. 3. The Everette pebble, Kowak river, Alaska. This is a water worn pebble, of a dark green color, and a specific gravity of 2.99.

No. 4. A partially worked ornament from Canton, China. Color, light green. Specific gravity 3.335. A typical specimen of Asiatic jadeite.

No. 5. A partially worked stone from Costa Rica. Polished on all sides except the two ends which are fractured as if it were intended for an ornament, but never completed. It also shows where it was sawed from a larger piece. No. 32794, Peabody Museum, Cambridge. Color, light green. Specific gravity 3.333.

ANALYSES.

	No. 1. Nephrite. New Zealand.	No. 2. Nephrite. St. Aubin.	No. 3. Nephrite. Alaska.	No. 4. Jadeite. Asiatic.	No. 5. Jadeite. Costa Rica.
Loss on ignition,	0.54	1.03	1.90	0.33	0.10
Silica,	57.97	57.19	55.52	58.11	57.96
Ferrous oxide,	4.71	4.80	7.05		
Ferric oxide,				0.94	1.40
Alumina,	0.50	1.24	0.39	24.04	24.53
Magnesia,	22.82	22.27	21.69		
Lime,	13.38	13.32	13.05	1.66	1.66
Alkalies,				14.92 ¹	14.35 ¹
	99.92	99.85	99.60	100.00	100.00

¹ Determined by difference.

The beautifully worked axe-head which I found in the museum of the American Antiquarian Society with the simple label "From South America," and whose history is unknown, is of a dark green color, weighs 256 grammes, has a hardness of 6, a specific gravity of 2.859, and a fusibility a little below 3. I therefore believe it to be a nephrite, and probably from the valley of the Amazon.¹

In connection with this subject, the following letter, which I have permission to publish, giving a very curious account of the discovery of jade in Australia, seems to me not without interest.

EAST MILTON, Mass., *April 3, 1889.*

Prof. KINNICUTT.

My Dear Sir:

When I was young in China, say about 1847 to 1851, the story was often related, especially to strangers, how, "once upon a time" an officer of a small vessel was wrecked or embayed in a rocky bay on the south coast of Australia, and having been trading in China he was attracted by a belt or vein of green stone that looked to him like jade, that ran along the face of the cliffs. He took some small fragments, and in due time, being in China, found that it was true jade. He then tried to get up an expedition, and failing, the merchants finally got one of the adventurers always hanging about eastern ports, who happened at the moment to be in funds, to charter and fit out a schooner, and the two sailed off together.

The tradition did not say how long they were gone, but intimated that it was some months. At last they returned, and, it not being possible to trade at that time except through an established house, they consigned to Russell & Co. But they insisted on conducting their business them-

¹The Society has also in its museum plaster casts of the two celebrated Mexican chalchihuites, the Humboldt celt, and the Leyden Plate, presented by Dr. J. J. Valentini of New York. A valuable paper of Dr. Valentini, on these two chalchihuites and on the occurrence of jade ornaments in Central America and Mexico, is to be found in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. New Series. Vol. I. Page 283.

selves, and so came up with their specimens from Whampoa, the ship anchorage—all this was at Canton—and after due appointments went round to Curio Street and met the jade dealers. They made careful and exact inquiries and said they would hold a Consoo and answer in a week. Meantime they debated the question as to what they would do, for the influx of such an unheard of quantity of jade would ruin them.

They were equal to the occasion, however, and at the end of the week returned the answer that it was true jade undoubtedly, but too young. That it would take a thousand years to make it suitable, and meantime they declined to buy at any price. Canton being the only port open there was nothing to be done but to abandon or store their treasure. They stored it in Russell & Co.'s receiving ship at Cumsingmoon, an outport near Macas, in boxes, and took a receipt, and there was an end of the story or legend, which few believed but which was faithfully told to every new comer as gospel truth. When our jolly skipper from Cumsingmoon, was at Canton on a lark, he used to declare that he could still see pieces of the jade "as big as a hat" lying among the ballast, but as the receiving ship had been twice changed and he was a great fellow for yarns we believed it all the less.

In 1851, being then the junior partner of the house and in charge of that department, I received a letter addressed to the house from Macas, which for the moment made me feel as if a skeleton hand had come up through the floor. It was from an unknown party, saying that in such a year, twenty or so before, some boxes of jade had been deposited with us and that the owners would now like to take delivery and enclosed a copy of receipt.

There was need for caution, for where was the jade and what was its value, supposing that there really was any. I got time by answering that I would immediately write to Cumsingmoon and get the jade ready for delivery and let them know. I asked the captain if there was any jade at Cumsingmoon, to get it all together and pack it in the required number of boxes, using old wood and rusty nails. Fortunately the weight was not given. Then we looked up letters of the former captain's and got his signature so that no false receipt could be palmed off on us by some one

who had heard the old story, and sat waiting rather anxiously for the captain's answer.

He reported that there proved to be much more jade than any one had supposed and that he had successfully packed up, as I remember it, fifty boxes. Being now ready, I sent to the Macas parties, notified them that the jade was ready for delivery on the production of the proper receipt and the payment of the enclosed bill for demurrage, amounting to seven thousand and odd dollars, considering that sum sufficient to head off a joke, if one were intended. We rather thought that we had heard the last of the jade merchants. On the contrary, by the return boat came the \$7000. The fifty boxes were taken on the true and original receipt and we never heard another word about the matter.

Yours respectfully,

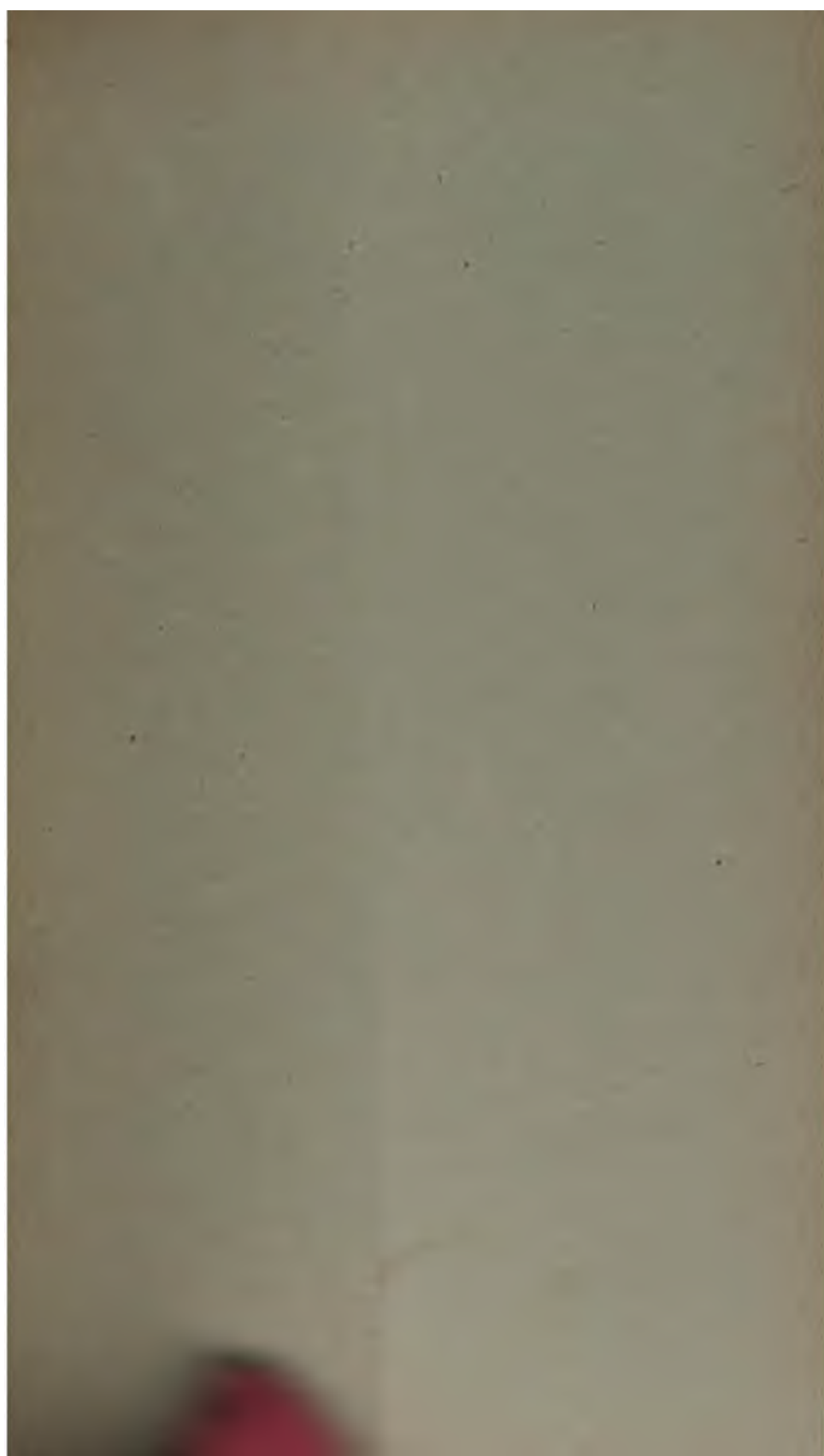
EDWARD CUNNINGHAM.

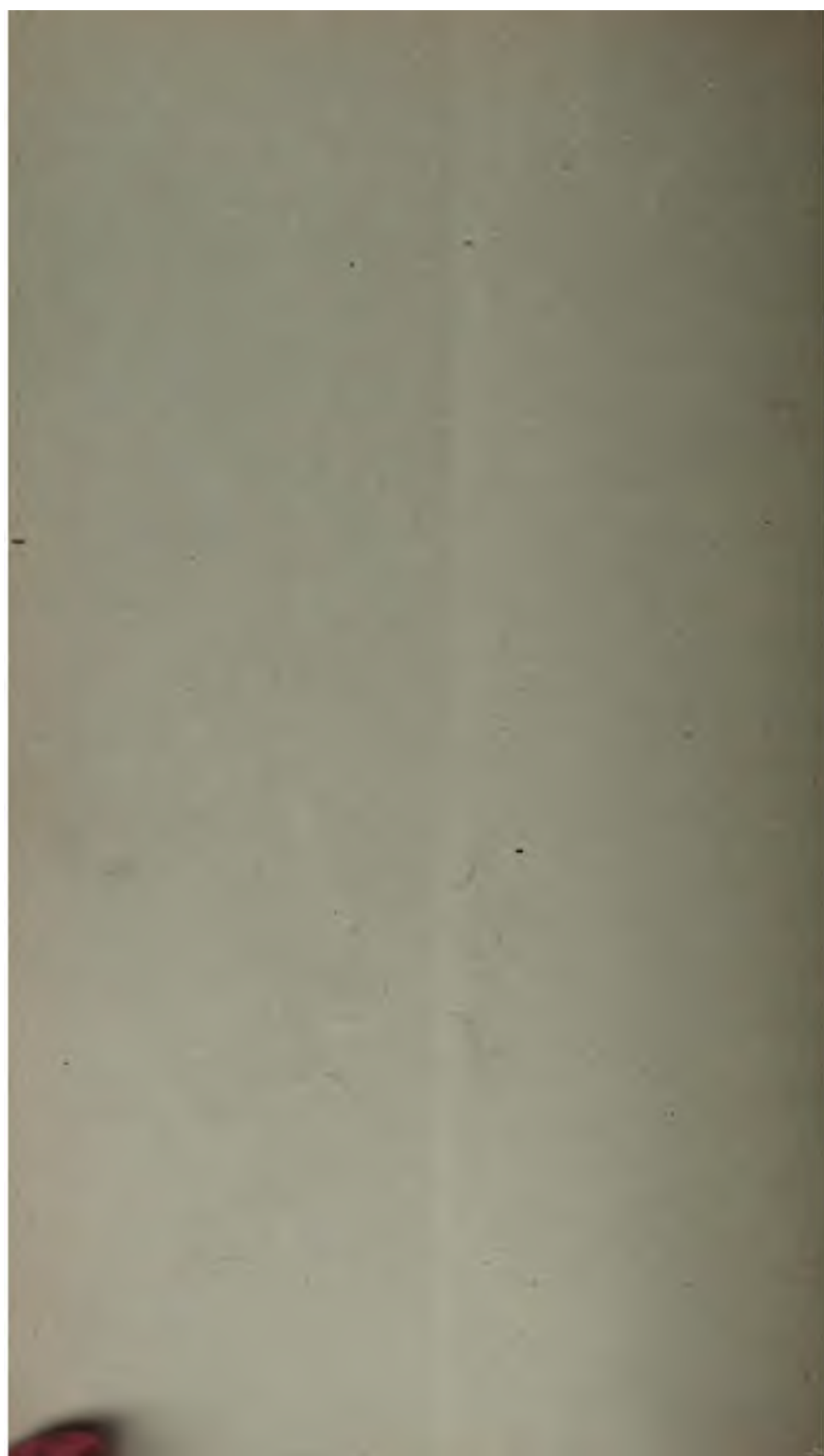
Is it not possible that this story refers to the discovery of the now well-known vein of nephrite in New Zealand?

TIME OF ANNUAL MEETING.

The proposed amendment of the By-Laws, in regard to the time of holding the Annual Meeting of the Society when the 21st of October falls on Sunday or Monday,—as described on page 11 of this number of the Proceedings,—was unanimously adopted by the Society. In preparing the report for publication, this fact was accidentally omitted.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.





VOL. VI.

NEW SERIES.

PART 2.

Thomas Davis
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 23, 1889.



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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 23, 1889, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership): George E. Ellis, George F. Hoar, Wm. Sumner Barton, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, Henry M. Dexter, John D. Washburn, Edward H. Hall, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Horatio Rogers, Frederick W. Putnam, Solomon Lincoln, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, William W. Rice, Joseph Anderson, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, Frank P. Goulding, Granville S. Hall, John M. Merriam.

The records of the last meeting were read by the Recording Secretary and approved.

The report of the Council was read by the Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.

The report of NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., the Treasurer, was submitted in print.

The Librarian, Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, then read his report.

Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., said :—" I move you that the several documents composing the report of the Council be referred to the Committee of Publication. While I do this, I wish to avail myself of the privilege that Dr. PEABODY grants to every member of the Society, to say that while I have been very much interested in his report generally, I still, in regard to the " Boston Massacre," adhere to the opinion which I believe was the universal opinion for the first hundred years after the events occurred. I wish to be considered as dissenting from what has been said in regard to that. As long as no argument was offered on that side, I offer none on the other. I merely state my dissent."

Dr. PEABODY :—" In presenting that report I assume the whole responsibility for that sentence."

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., said :—" I second the motion for accepting the report and referring it to the Publishing Committee, and I wish to express not only my accord with Dr. PEABODY, but also my gratitude for his frank and honorable way of stating it. The only patrons that I have seen of that monument are some of our colored citizens and Irish emigrants in the city of Boston. I wish also to express my gratitude to Dr. PEABODY for the research, industry, ability and judgment he has shown in that sketch of our early writers of periodical literature. We owe very much to them. And I am especially grateful for his tribute to Mr. Buckingham, whom I knew very well and very intimately. He was a man who had strong enemies which he made in a righteous cause, mostly by his frank and honorable course—by his criticisms. He was a man, I think, by some of his contemporaries rather misunderstood, and not fully appreciated. Was it not so, Dr. PEABODY ?"

Dr. PEABODY :—" It was."

Dr. ELLIS :—" I wish to refer particularly to the fact that his son has a very valuable collection of his father's man-

uscripts. He has spoken to me about them. I think they would yield information of great value, and I hope that some effort will be made to get them, if the son does not digest them; and I hope they will come here.

“I wish to suggest a subject that may be treated with the same ability,—that is, a history of the ministry—of the Christian ministry—in the State of Massachusetts. The materials are scattered in church and town records, and in biographies like Dr. Sprague’s, but the whole subject ought to be presented in an historical digest. It embraces several salient points; the development of change of opinion in the Congregational Church, of which, I think, the earliest has hardly received due notice, that of Mr. Rogers, of Leominster, an ancestor of mine. Then besides the changes of opinion, there is a vast deal of interest about the subject of the perplexing and difficult relations of the ministers with the parish at the time of the depreciation of the currency. There is an exceedingly valuable set of papers of that sort by historical men. When Dr. Belknap’s granddaughter was writing a memoir of her grandfather, Jeremy Belknap, I aided her somewhat in the work. She had a very valuable lot of papers, but her father, John Belknap, was a singular man, and compelled that memoir to be written in the most brief and concise way. Among the papers was a large bundle relating to Dr. Belknap’s inability to obtain means of support from his parish at Dover, N. H. Mr. John Belknap wished those papers to be destroyed, but the granddaughter said: ‘Your father has preserved those papers; he didn’t wish them to be destroyed.’ And they have been preserved. They were presented by the granddaughter quite recently to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and are in the cabinet. There are other matters in relation to the ministry, particularly in relation to the tenure of office. The elder gentlemen here will remember that long and sharp controversy between John Pierpont and

the Hollis Street Society. Finally, when left apparently with the feeblest support, he based himself upon the claim to a life settlement. I will not go any further, but I present this subject for consideration,—the development of the change of opinion and the difficulties brought about during the war by a depreciation of the currency. For instance, Dr. Osgood, of Medford, was settled on a small sum, and they undertook to pay him in depreciated currency during the war. The old man told them they had enough other expenses to bear, and he waived his yearly claim till the thing was settled, and then he demanded all, and the parish, with some chagrin, paid him.”

Mr. HOAR said :—“The hours of this morning belong to the gentlemen who have prepared papers at your request. But I do not think I ought to let Dr. PEABODY’S paper pass without expressing my hearty accord with the view of the Boston massacre which has been stated by Dr. PAIGE. Dr. ELLIS said that nobody patronises the monument to Crispus Attucks but some Irish emigrants. I thought the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had been a patron of that monument.

“There are two things, which, as it seems to me, the critics who condemn the people of Boston so severely fail to understand. I do not doubt they all understand as well as those who differ from them, what Dr. PEABODY understands better than most men, that there is a difference in the government of States between righteousness and wickedness, between freedom and tyranny, between usurpation and law. But they do not reflect that there are occasions when tyranny and oppression get possession of the forces of government and the forms of law. What are you to do then? Are you to wait till you have converted the tyrant to your side by pacific argument? Should our Fathers have waited till they had brought George III. to change his policy by reasoning with him? I do not think much progress would have been made in that direction. There is a time when

men, knowing perfectly well that all the dominant forces of the world, the constable, and the crown, and the throne, and the judge are on the other side, take their lives in their hands and precipitate themselves against the cannon or the bayonet in the hands of their antagonists. Nothing else will so arouse the world to the issue. The deed they do is under seal. That is what our people did at the time of the Boston Massacre, with the deep unerring instinct which the common people of New England have always shown when questions of liberty were in issue. The crown had, in strict law, the undoubted right to put those regiments on Boston Common. But it was as gross an insult to the people of Massachusetts to do it, as it would be to-day should the government of the United States muster the regular army on Boston Common as a threat to the people when they were pursuing their peaceful way. The men in the ropewalk and Crispus Attucks and those who fell with him felt the presence of these troops as an insult, which they were ready to resent at whatever cost.

“Now there is one other thing that these critics do not understand. That is, how keen and susceptible a sense of honor they have, whom we sometimes call the lower classes, and how sensitive they are to a public insult. They have not the satisfactions of property, of wealth, of letters, of education. But they have a supreme satisfaction in the honor of their country. They have, as the history of the late Rebellion shows, as intense a suffering and shame when it is disgraced, as ever dwells in the heart of the child of fortune or rank. These people, when the fist of the British government was thrust against their noses, felt the insult. They resented it in the only way they had to resent it. They expressed their love of freedom in a way that could not be mistaken, and at the risk of their lives. They did nothing worse in principle than Sam. Adams did when he called on Hutchinson and demanded that he should take those regiments out of Boston, or he would bring the coun-

try people down upon them. That was the supreme moment in the life of Sam. Adams. 'It was then,' he says in his letter to James Warren, 'if fancy deceived me not, I observed his knees to tremble, I thought I saw his face grow pale, and I enjoyed the sight.' That threat was as lawless as any act committed by the mob. The principle is exactly the same. Yet I suppose we all agree in deeming that the most glorious event in the life of our great Revolutionary patriot.

"The same thing happened in our recent history when the attempt was made to send back fugitive slaves to their owners. The leading motive of that attempt was not the desire to return to the owner his slave property. It was the desire to humiliate the free spirit of Massachusetts. We have chosen into this Society a leader of the attack on the Boston Court House. We praise the honor and spirit of former ages. If we condemn the duel which men enter into to vindicate their honor when it is assailed, we never judge it harshly. Why this sudden desire to judge with such severity the people of Boston who took the only way then open to them to vindicate their honor when insulted, and to attribute to them a base, rough and rowdy mob spirit? That was never the view of John Adams, or Sam. Adams, or Quincy, or Warren. They meant the soldiers should have a fair trial. But they never thought the people should be condemned. On the contrary, they made the fifth of March a great anniversary. It held its place, and was celebrated with addresses from the foremost orators of Massachusetts, until Independence was established and the day of the massacre gave way to the 4th of July."

Dr. PEABODY:—"I simply wanted to point out that if in circumstances like those the government had not called out the militia and had not done its utmost to quell or to prevent such riots by military force, such a government would never have had standing room in the State afterwards."

The report of the Council was then accepted.

The Recording Secretary reported from the Council their recommendation of the following named gentlemen for membership in the Society :—

HON. MATTHEW PAUL DEADY, LL.D., of Portland, Or.

HON. ANDREW HASWELL GREEN, of New York, N. Y.

WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, A.M., of Providence, R. I.

All of these gentlemen were duly elected by separate ballots.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., was then unanimously re-elected President by ballot.

President SALISBURY :—"Gentlemen, I thank you for your renewed confidence in me. I feel very sensible of my inadequacy for the position. I accept it nevertheless, feeling that you will bear and forbear with me."

A committee consisting of Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Hon. HENRY S. NOURSE and HENRY H. EDES, Esq., was appointed to nominate the other officers to be elected.

Mr. HOAR :—"Before proceeding farther I should like to make one statement. When Dr. PEABODY read his admirable sketch of Joseph Dennie, before the Council, it was thought exceedingly desirable that a similar service should be performed in regard to the memory of Dr. John Park, one of the accomplished journalists and gentlemen of his time. His character is exceedingly interesting, and his relation to our literature very important. It was hoped that our associate, Rev. Mr. HALL, his grandson, might prepare the sketch of Dr. Park. It is proposed that we should make publicly known this desire."

President SALISBURY :—"As there is a moment unoccupied, it occurs to me that it would be interesting for the strangers in Worcester from a distance to be reminded that to-day is a day of great interest to the citizens of Worcester, being the one hundredth anniversary of the visit of General Washington to the city. On his journey to New England he passed several hours here, having come from

Spencer, where he had spent the night previous, dining in a hotel nearly opposite to us, now called the Exchange Hotel. He was escorted into Worcester by a cavalcade of forty gentlemen who met him at Spencer, and he was attended in the same way on his departure."

The nominating committee reported a list of other officers, as follows:—

Vice-Presidents:

HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Newport, R. I.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary:

HON. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All of the above being ex-officio members of the Council:
and the following

Councillors:

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.

REV. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

REV. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.
FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M., of New Haven, Ct.
J. EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

On motion, the Secretary cast a yea ballot in favor of the names presented by the committee.

PRESIDENT SALISBURY:—"Six months ago the Society had the great pleasure of meeting a member of our Society, Rev. Dr. CYRUS HAMLIN. They then passed a vote requesting him to prepare some account of the foundation of Robert College at Constantinople. I see that he is present here to-day, and I hope that we shall hear from him."

Rev. Dr. HAMLIN addressed the Society at length, and at the close of his remarks left the manuscript with the Society.

Prof. EDWARD CHANNING presented a paper on "The Navigation Laws."

Prof. FREDERICK W. PUTNAM gave a paper on "The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge."

Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES submitted a paper upon the subject of "Cotton Mather and his Slaves."

On motion, all the communications were referred to the Committee of Publication.

Dr. PAIGE :—"I suppose that every one has noted the absence of one of our oldest members. I speak of Dr. DEANE, who was living this morning, but the continuance of life seems to be but the question of days, if not of hours."

President SALISBURY :—"The Chair would state that the Council at a previous meeting framed resolutions of sympathy and respect, which they transmitted to Mrs. Deane, but has been informed that the condition and health of Dr. DEANE were not adequate to his listening to them, and the Council received a very interesting letter from Mrs. Deane in regard to the matter."

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SINCE our last meeting we have lost by death three members, whom we may fitly hold in memory, for personal excellence, for public service, and for work of enduring merit in the department of research which gives name and character to our Society. Peleg Whitman Chandler died on May 28; Henry Wilder Foote, on May 29; Thomas Coffin Amory, on August 20, 1889.

Peleg W. Chandler was born at New Gloucester, in the then District of Maine, April 13, 1816. He graduated at Bowdoin College in 1834, studied law at Cambridge and in Boston, and was admitted to the bar in 1837. He early distinguished himself as a counsellor and advocate, and, at the same time, as the founder and for ten years the editor of the *Law Reporter*. He was in 1844 and '45 President of the Common Council of Boston, and afterward for several years represented the city in the Legislature, in which as chairman of important committees, in 1847 and 1863 respectively, he reported the bill for supplying Boston with pure water, and the bill establishing the State Board of Charities. In 1846 he succeeded John Pickering as City Solicitor, and held that office for seven years. He was subsequently a member of the Executive Council. More than thirty years ago his hearing became so much impaired as to interfere essentially with his practice in the courts, especially in jury trials. But he had already obtained and merited so high a reputation equally for learning, skill and acuteness, that the residue of his active life was full of such valuable and remunerative work as required only eyesight and brain-power.

Mr. Chandler was richly possessed of those traits of character which win universal reverence and love. Pure,

upright and honorable, generous and public-spirited, genial and hospitable, he made his home supremely happy, and his presence, wherever he went, a benediction. His society was eagerly sought by a younger generation as the ranks of his coëvals became thin, and there were never wanting those who took their place by his ear-trumpet to enjoy his wealth of anecdote and his unabated flow of strong thought and kind feeling.

Mr. Chandler was a devoutly religious man, a loyal member of the New Church, a constant attendant at its worship, and a contributor to its literature. His entire life manifested the guiding and controlling power of Christian faith, and he approached the confines of the unseen world with an assurance that seemed clear vision rather than undoubting hope.

Mr. Chandler was the author of several legal works of permanent value, and of an ably reasoned essay on the Authenticity of the Gospels. His chief contribution to American antiquities is his two volumes of "American Criminal Trials," published in 1841 and '44. These contain authentic and full reports of the most important criminal trials under the provincial and in the infancy of the State governments. Conspicuous among these is a detailed account of the trial of Captain Preston and his soldiers for what is miscalled the Boston Massacre, which was very plainly proved by abundant and uncontradicted evidence to have been an act of self-defence against a drunken and brutal mob. Had our Governor or the Chairmen of the Committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives taken the trouble to read this narrative, we should have been spared the hideous monument on the Tremont street side of the Boston Common, which commemorates equally the degradation of art and the falsification of history.¹

¹ For the opinion here expressed the writer of the Report assumes the sole responsibility, and must not be understood as speaking in the name of the Council.

Henry W. Foote was born at Salem, Mass., June 2, 1839. He graduated at Harvard College in 1858, and at the Harvard Divinity School in 1861. After declining invitations from religious societies in Portsmouth, N. H., and Cincinnati, O., he became minister of King's Chapel in Boston, toward the close of the year 1861, and retained that office till his death. No man can ever have been better fitted than he for his sacred office, or have won in it stronger confidence, warmer affection or more hearty gratitude. He so blended gentleness and firmness, that either might have been named as his specially characteristic trait. While his time, his unfailing courtesy and forbearance, his genial sympathy, his best services were freely bestowed, his opinions and principles were his own, and were uttered and maintained without concealment or compromise. As a writer he was distinguished for a rare purity of style, for a taste refined and delicate, yet never fastidious, and for the simplicity and ease that indicate the careful elaboration which they hide. As a preacher, his aim manifestly was not the writing of satisfactory sermons, but the meeting of the actual needs of all human souls, or of the special needs of those under his charge in their peculiar temptations, duties and trials. Thus his sermons always had a specific purpose, and were listened to as if directly addressed to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. As a parish minister, he endeared himself by his intimate fellow-feeling, which made him seem as a member of every family in his flock, sharing their joys and sorrows as if they had been his own. He was earnestly interested in the great charities of his time, and still more so in those enterprises of Christian love which make no show and are heralded by no trumpet-sounding, but go directly, in personal ministries, to the poor, the neglected, the imperilled,—to classes always numerous in a great city, and liable to be overlooked for larger and more remote philanthropic work. In these home-charities he has been constantly the leader and helper of his people, and has

enlisted in such service very many who have learned under his tuition and guidance the blessedness of doing good. In his devotion to the labors of his calling, he sought no opportunities of placing himself before a larger public; but that larger public gradually became aware of his pre-eminent merit and ability as a Christian minister, and has of late years looked upon him as among the strongest pillars of religious faith, social order and general well-being. Christians of every name claimed kindred with him, and the whole community is bereaved by his removal.

Mr. Foote at an early period of his ministry suffered severely from bronchitis, and remained liable to slighter and transient attacks of that disease, but was, for the most part, in good health and full working power till last December, when, with the old bronchial affection, it became manifest that there was heart disease which threatened to be, as it proved to be, incurable. The succeeding months of infirmity and suffering brought into full relief the rich beauty of his spirit and character, and witnessed the transcendent power of Christian faith in making the deepening shadows of death full of light and peace and gladness.

Mr. Foote was deeply interested in the ecclesiastical history of New England, and among his printed discourses are several historical sermons of more than transient value. But what he hoped to make his life-work in this department was "The Annals of King's Chapel." Of this work he completed the first volume, and left the second volume, printed in part, with memoranda for the remaining portion that will need to be arranged and filled out by other hands. The first volume is admirable for its thoroughness of research, for the large amount of collateral history and biography which it furnishes, and for the generous and catholic spirit in which it treats the religious questions and controversies of the time which it covers.

Thomas C. Amory was born in Boston, Mass., October 16, 1813. He graduated at Harvard College in 1830.

Admitted to the bar in early manhood, after a few years he suspended the practice of his profession, devoting himself in part to the care of his father's estate, in part to literary pursuits. He was at one time a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was for several years an Alderman of Boston, subsequently one of the Overseers of the Poor, at a still later time a member of the School Committee,—in all these offices efficient, enterprising, public-spirited, and having at heart the highest welfare of his fellow-citizens. During the war of the Rebellion he was among the foremost in patriotic service, and put his life in serious peril in his energetic endeavors to quell the mob-spirit for a time rampant in the city. He bore a large part in superintending the building of the City Hospital, and was President of its first board of Trustees.

Mr. Amory gave much of his time and labor to historical and biographical literature. Among his writings were the Life of Governor James Sullivan, his grandfather, and various papers illustrative and vindicative of the merits and services of his great-uncle, General and President John Sullivan, of New Hampshire. He wrote also the Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. He was for many years an active member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose Proceedings contain valuable contributions from him on a great diversity of subjects.

In private life Mr. Amory was worthily esteemed and beloved. A few years ago he met with a severe and disabling accident, and though he recovered from its immediate effects, it left him in feeble and declining health, with no hope of complete restoration.

For the Council.

ANDREW P. PEARODY.

THE FARMER'S WEEKLY MUSEUM.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

THE *æstrum* of authorship plies its sting wherever there is any consciousness or pretence of superior intelligence, culture or brain-power. It is not Mécænas that makes the writer, but the writer that calls out the Mécænas. Had a Virgil or a Horace loomed up in full radiance through the mists of the dark ages, patrons that could not read would have listened to his song, feasted the bard and paid his copyists. Our great publishing firms now monopolize the office of Mécænas, and seldom fail to capture a man of transcending genius; though if there be one who eludes their ken or scorns their convoy to fame, he must remain unhonored in his own generation, while some posthumous chance may disinter and revivify him for posterity. In this country there were no great publishers in the last or in the earlier years of the present century. The books printed here were almost all English books, some of them standard works of well-known authors, some of them manuals of devotion, some of them catering for the coarsest tastes and prized for what made them worse than worthless,—a type of literature which found greedy readers in an age perhaps no purer than our own, though with less transparency of evil. An American work was too hazardous an enterprise, unless backed by a list of subscribers that presupposed the very reputation which a new writer had yet to earn. As late as 1816 it was written, and with truth,—“During the rage for English books which now prevails it would be worse than folly to offer the writings of an American author to a community which purchases with eager avidity the most disgusting details of English profligacy, and regards with

indifference the classical beauty, the gorgeous eloquence and the sound sense of an Ames, a Hamilton, and a Harper."¹ Meanwhile the country newspapers elicited, cherished, and to the utmost of their ability subsidized worthy aspirants in literature, and in their columns may be found not only essays and poems of good promise, but such promise fully realized in no small amount of prose and verse of exceptional merit, much of it so cosmopolitan that, if reprinted now, it would seem fresh and new, much of it of equal worth, yet belonging so intimately to its own time that it can be appreciated only by those already conversant with things as they then were, or by those who recognize it as their best guide and interpreter in the quest of knowledge as to society and life a hundred years ago. There might be named several of these rural weekly journals, some issued in places otherwise almost unknown, which were far superior, except in the very scanty item of news, to the best papers in the larger towns, and had, if not a greater, a much wider circulation than they, with subscribers whom they could not reach in twice the time in which we now cross the continent.

The paper which contributed most largely to the literature of its time and to the nurture of American literature in the first half-century of our national existence was the *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, of Walpole, New Hampshire, established by the founder of this Society, and thus having a special claim to record in our proceedings.

July 17, 1770, Isaiah Thomas, in partnership with his former master, Zechariah Fowle, issued in Boston the first number of the *Massachusetts Spy*. Before the close of the year he became its sole proprietor. It was in the interest of the popular party, and was so intensely and efficiently hostile to the administration under the British crown, that just before

¹ Robert Goodhue Harper, a member of the United States Senate from Virginia. An edition of his "Select Works" was published in Baltimore, in 1814. An article in *Blackwood's Magazine* says:—"His writings are energetic, manly, profound, satisfactory. We hold him to be, altogether, one of the ablest men that North America has produced."

the battle of Lexington the editor deemed it necessary for his personal safety to leave Boston. After an interval of four weeks the paper re-appeared in Worcester under the same name, with the addition, "Or, American Oracle of Liberty." It still exists, and is the oldest paper in Massachusetts.

David Carlisle, of an old Walpole family, served his apprenticeship in the office of the *Spy*, and when he became of age, in 1793, Mr. Thomas enabled him to start a paper in his native town, supplying the capital and giving his own name and credit to the firm of Thomas and Carlisle, which opened at the same time a book-store, and did such job and book printing as was called for. Walpole had at that time less than fourteen hundred inhabitants, almost wholly a farming population, which must have furnished few subscribers for the paper or customers for the book-store.

The paper was started April 11, 1793, under the title of *The New Hampshire Journal: Or, The Farmer's Weekly Museum*, but April 4, 1797, assumed the name of *The Farmer's Weekly Museum, and New Hampshire and Vermont Journal*, which it retained, not without several changes, till, after a lingering decline and some brief periods of suspended animation, it expired for lack of patronage, October 15, 1810.

Carlisle seems to have been, if not a ready writer, a wise purveyor; and as it is the token of an accomplished scholar, not that he knows everything, but that he knows where to find whatever he wants to use, so it is the token of the successful manager of a journal or magazine, not that he can write well, but that he knows where to look for good writers. His earliest helper was Rev. Thomas Fessenden, the minister of the town, a Harvard graduate, of superior attainments for his time, of a rather liberal type of theology, and possessed of a vein of wit and humor which he did not hesitate to mine on fit occasions.

In 1795 Joseph Dennie took up his residence in Walpole, and began writing for the *Museum*; early in the year he assumed the entire control of it as editor; and for the three or four following years it is not too much to say that this paper had a larger amount and variety of original matter of a high character than there has been in the same number of issues of any American paper before or since. The *Museum* obtained a circulation extending from Maine to Georgia, and as far west as Ohio, filling weekly a large extra mail-bag.

Joseph Dennie had, in my opinion, and I think in that of the best judges of his own time, no contemporary equal among the prose writers of America. He was born in Boston in 1768. He entered the sophomore class of Harvard College in 1787. His college life seems to have been stormy. Evidently conscious of superior ability, he failed to convert the college faculty to his own opinion of himself, and having been neglected in the assignment of performances at the several exhibitions, he accused them of "a general combination in favor of stupidity." He was reprimanded and degraded for insulting a tutor,—a form of leze-majesty against a *numen* which college administration in more recent times has held inviolably sacred, even when it has made itself supremely ridiculous. Maddened by this normal and perhaps righteous discipline, he chose for declamation such a piece and delivered it in such a way as to incur the charge of premeditated insult on the whole faculty. For this he was suspended, and was restored to his class and to his standing in it, just in time to obtain his degree.¹

¹ Dennie's place of suspension was Groton; the tutor assigned to him, Rev. Daniel Chaplin, H. U. 1772, D.D. 1817. While at Groton, he maintained a frequent correspondence with his classmate Roger Vose, afterward a distinguished member of the New Hampshire bar, and a member of Congress. Twenty of these letters are now in the possession of Thomas Bellows Peck of Walpole, H. U. 1863. They contain a great deal of juvenile fun and humor, a still larger amount of grave and serious thought, and absolutely nothing indicative of bad principles or habits. Indeed, the impression derived from the correspondence, as a whole, is that Harvard could ill afford to lose such a student. I might

Dennie retained through life a contemptuous hostility to the college authorities, and this sentiment was undoubtedly on their part cordially reciprocated. In the old-time relation of mutual antagonism his position with the faculty would have sufficed to make him unboundedly popular with his class; but there were other and better reasons for this. As I look over the names in the catalogue, I feel sure that he was the brightest of his class, probably the only one of whom genius could have been predicated, and second to none of them except President Quincy in abilities that might have fitted him for any position, office or trust, however high, large or arduous. He was Mr. Quincy's special favorite, and according to Edmund Quincy, so long as Dennie lived, his visits were the only occasions of relaxation and festivity on which his father departed from that rigid Spartan *régime* which gave his youth the gravity of age, and prolonged for him far beyond his four-score of years the vigor of youth. Jeremiah Mason, no mean judge, in his seventy-seventh year, and nearly half a century after he had last seen Dennie, wrote of him, "I have never known a more eloquent and delightful talker."

Shortly after graduating Dennie went to Charlestown, New Hampshire, as a law student in the office of Benjamin West, one of the most eminent lawyers of his time. In

quote from the more playful of these letters, were it not that some of the personal allusions in them would demand a knowledge of persons which we no longer possess, to make them intelligible. and others are in disparagement of members of the college faculty who have left worthily honored memories. I will, therefore, merely append to my Report, as specimens of Dennie's style and thought in his novitiate, certain letters of his which contain no references to persons, but relate to subjects of serious interest and moment. My readers will not be surprised that in five years' time the writer of these letters should have become in thought and style second to no then living American author..

There are in this correspondence directions for the transmission of letters, which indicate either the non-existence or the inordinate expensiveness of mail communication between Cambridge and Groton. Vose is asked to "enquire at Reed's or Richardson's if Groton marketers do not sometimes stop at their respective houses," and to "transmit letters by them, to be lodged at Fletcher's tavern." Various other modes of private transmission are referred to, as is also the delay of letters for lack of an opportunity of sending them.

1793 he found himself, without his own seeking, on the verge of the clerical profession. The Charlestown Congregational minister died, and shortly afterward Dennie was requested to occupy the vacant pulpit by reading the liturgy of the Episcopal Church and a sermon. He chose one of Sterne's sermons, and he must have performed the entire service with singular impressiveness; for he was immediately afterward invited to officiate as reader in the Episcopal Church at Claremont. His single Sunday there was followed by an engagement for four months, and that, by an urgent request that he would receive ordination, and become rector of the Church. About the same time similar overtures were made to him by the wardens and vestry of St. John's Church in Portsmouth. He, however, adhered, in show at least, to the law, was admitted to the bar in 1794, and opened an office in Charlestown. Mr. Mason says that he was all the while in self-training for a literary life, that he had studied but one law-book, and that his knowledge of the law consisted mainly of queer and quaint phrases, thence derived, with which he was wont to garnish his conversation and to make fun of his profession. He appeared once in court as an advocate, and then made a plea, elaborate, brilliant and eloquent, before an uneducated rustic judge, who had no idea of what he meant or to what purpose he was speaking, and rebuked him for his waste of words. When asked to make a second appearance, he replied, "I remember the Bæotian judge, and it is the last time that I shall ever attempt to batter down a mud wall with roses." It was said that thenceforward, though he transacted some legal business, he often, and for a long time continuously, kept his office-door fastened on the inside to prevent the entrance of clients.

Meanwhile he had gained no little reputation by a series of papers entitled "The Farrago," printed in country newspapers on the Connecticut, and was induced in 1795 to undertake the publication of a weekly literary journal in

Boston. This appeared under the title of *The Tablet*. It had able contributors, among them Rev. Dr. Gardiner, of Trinity Church. It was read with eager interest and admiration, and in order to its complete success it lacked nothing save subscribers; but because of their paucity it ceased to be at the end of three months.

Dennie now established himself in Walpole, and began for the *Museum* a series of papers entitled "The Lay Preacher,"—a designation suggested, no doubt, by his recent pulpit experience. These were continued weekly, with brief intermissions, for four years. They must have been much better sermons than the author was wont to hear; for they were written just at the time when the Whitefieldian fervor had died out of the New England pulpit, and congregations were fed either on the husks of obsolescent dogmas, or on the trite commonplaces of conventional morality. These sermons of Dennie are not spiritual, but they are thoroughly Christian, and consist, for the most part, in the application—at once sententious and vivid, close and trenchant—of the ethical principles of the Gospel to the actual affairs of common life. There is hardly one of them that does not meet some real need, rebuke some tolerated wrong or evil, urge some neglected item of moral obligation, satirize some reigning folly, or present for devout admiration or reverent awe some familiar, yet else unnoted aspect of the Divine Providence in nature or in life. They always have a scriptural text, almost always quaint and piquant, generally from the Old Testament, often from its biography, with illustrations and comment that indicate an intimate knowledge of the Bible. Though they introduce all sorts of secular topics, and are pervaded by keen wit and unsparing sarcasm, they are never flippant or irreverent. They might be compared with Sterne's sermons, were it not that Sterne can have had no seriousness of purpose, while Dennie evidently meant to do good, and wanted to be felt as a moral censor and re-

former. I should rather put them on a level with Sydney Smith's sermons at once as to their directness and point, their flavor of chastened humor, their sincere purpose of healthful moral influence, and equally as to their lack of unction, in both men perhaps due to their abhorrence of and contempt for sanctimony. These sermons of Dennie were everywhere welcomed with delight and admiration, in part for their transcendent merit of thought and style, in part because the potential connection of religion with the ordinary and even trivial details of every-day life, to us as familiar in thought as it is sadly wanting in realization, was then a novel conception, nay, in the literal sense of the word, a discovery; for it uncovered those teachings of Him who spake as never man spake, which were all homely sayings on the occasions of the passing hour,—fitly generalized by his disciples, yet even more fitly specialized anew, as in these lay-sermons, to meet the altered needs of an altered civilization.

In addition to these papers Dennie procured from contributors, some of whom I shall name presently, articles of a great diversity of merit, yet all of them of merit; for he was a most discriminating and fastidious critic. He also wrote weekly summaries of "Incidents Abroad," and "Incidents at Home," which Mr. Buckingham, than whom we could have no more authentic witness, pronounces far superior to anything of the kind within his very wide range of knowledge. He also had, in each number, "Notes to Readers and Correspondents," which were always amusing and attractive, were written at the last moment, and were made longer or shorter to fill out the vacant space in the week's issue.

Dennie was an ardent Federalist, and his paper was regarded as one of the strong bulwarks of the administration. His services were so highly appreciated that, in 1799, Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, gave him the appointment of private and confidential secretary to the

Department. He accepted the office, and in September of that year entered upon its duties, from which he was released in the following May by Mr. Pickering's resignation. On his removal to Philadelphia he entered into a semi-editorial engagement with the *United States Gazette*. Subsequently, toward the close of the year 1800, he began the publication and assumed the editorial charge of a weekly literary journal, under the name of *The Portfolio*, which obtained at once an extensive circulation, had a very vigorous existence under a series of able editors till 1825, and expired in 1827. Dennie took for his *nom de plume* as editor the title of Oliver Oldschool, Esq. The numbers under his editorship have very much the same diversity of articles in prose and poetry that we now see in our monthlies,—the poetry, generally faultless in rhythm, easy to be understood, and with as much of the divine afflatus as could be reasonably expected in four, five or six closely printed columns every week,—the prose, when not Dennie's own, giving ample token of his pure taste and high standard in the choice of materials and contributors. He was still a zealous Federalist, and, of course, a bitter assailant of Jefferson's administration. In 1803 he was prosecuted for a libel on the government; but the trial resulted, according to his own statement, in "a signal victory."

Dennie was natively of a frail constitution, and had contracted convivial habits that preyed upon his health. That in this respect he transgressed, though he doubtless reached the outside limits of what was then called temperance, I find no certain proof, and my examination of every vestige of him that I can trace convinces me that, while this may be an open question, at every other point he was a man of sterling integrity, of scrupulous honor, of stainless purity, of firm Christian faith and strong religious principle. He died after a lingering illness in 1812. The inscription on his monument in the cemetery of St. Peter's church, reminds me of the verse which attributes

"To Berkeley every virtue under heaven."

Dennie had for his most frequent contributor to the *Museum*, Royall Tyler, of the Harvard class of 1776, who won in a subsequent long life of literary labor, public service and private worth, a much better name than he left for many years at Cambridge. He was for a while *Aide* to General Lincoln in the war of the Revolution, and afterward, in the suppression of the Shays rebellion, and was sent by Governor Bowdoin to New York to obtain the extradition of Shays, who had escaped across the State line. While in New York he offered for the John Street Theatre a play entitled "The Contrast," which was the first play of American authorship that ever appeared on any stage. He studied law with Chief Justice Dana and afterward with John Adams, and entered upon the practice of his profession in Guilford, Vermont, removing thence to Brattleborough. He reached the highest distinction at the bar, was Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Vermont, and was for several years Chief Justice of the State.

Tyler furnished a large part of the comic element for the *Museum*. He had already written for several papers, articles purporting to come from "the shop of Messrs. Colon and Spondee," and under this title he became one of Dennie's regular contributors. His was, as he termed it, "a variety store," and there was hardly anything less grave than the Lay Preacher, which it did not offer for eagerly waiting customers. No small part of the wit in these papers is sarcasm, better understood and appreciated then than now; much of it consists of scornful ridicule for democracy and its adherents, while a great portion of it loses nothing by time, and is as fresh now as it was ninety years ago. The verse under this head is for the most part Della-Cruscan doggerel, and admirable of its kind. I doubt whether in this special vein he has been surpassed by any American writer.

Judge Tyler wrote also the first American novel that was ever reprinted in England, entitled "The Algerine Captive,

or, the Life and Adventures of Captain Updike Underhill, six years a prisoner among the Algerines." This story has so much the air of a narrative of actual experience that it was received, treated and reviewed 'as such by English critics. The first edition was printed in Walpole, at the office of the *Museum*, in two small duodecimo volumes, in a remarkably clear and broadly leaded type, showing the capacity of the office for the best work of its time. It went through several subsequent editions. I confess that I am not surprised at the English critic's mistake; for the story has throughout a marvellous verisimilitude, and indeed Underwood before his capture is made to visit Philadelphia, where he calls on Dr. Franklin, and relates an anecdote of him so characteristic that I myself feel greatly in doubt whether it is fable or fact.

Tyler's style in essay and narrative is easy, graceful and elegant, yet without the rare refinement and exquisite finish which characterized all that Dennie wrote.

Among Dennie's collaborators a prominent place belongs to Thomas Green Fessenden, son of the Walpole clergyman, and a Dartmouth graduate of 1796, who wrote for the *Museum* a great deal of verse, chiefly in the Hudibrastic style, and who had not the fortune that has befallen many of our American poets, that of outliving their reputation; for in 1836, the year before his death, he issued a new edition of his earlier poems, which, as I well remember, was not uncalled for or unwelcome.

I might almost speak of him as a prose writer; for his principal poems have more than their bulk in annotations, which they certainly now need, and which at this moment give them an historical interest far transcending the poetical merit of their text. Yet the poetry is good of its kind. The mock heroic is sustained with wonderful skill; and I doubt whether the notes were needed before divers topics referred to in the text became obsolete. About that time there was in this country an affluence, I might almost say

an avalanche, of Hudibrastic verse. Barlow, Humphreys and Trumbull owed to poetry of this sort almost as much reputation as they forfeited by their more serious poems. As late as my college days—almost a prehistoric period,—this stilted, comico-heroic type of poetry had still a prominent place in the current literature and was in great favor, and Fessenden bore the palm among the writers of his kind.

Fessenden after graduating studied law in Rutland, Vermont, and utilized his leisure hours by writing for the *Museum* many poems which enhanced the reputation of the paper, and some which gave the writer an extended and not rapidly evanescent popularity. In 1801 he went to London as an agent for the introduction of a newly invented hydraulic machine, which proved a failure, as did another similar enterprise in which he embarked. Weary, dispirited and ill, imprisoned for debts which he seemed to have no chance of ever paying, he much more than repaired his sunken fortunes by a poem written in jail, which had a success till then unprecedented on both sides of the Atlantic. It was first published in London in 1803, and in less than two months a second edition was called for. It has passed through three American editions. Its title is "Terrible Tractoration," under the pseudonym of "Christopher Caustic, M.D., LL.D." The very title may have no meaning for our younger members. It relates to what may have been a premature discovery, or may have been a piece of unconscious and honest charlatanry.

Elisha Perkins, a physician of Norwich, Connecticut, undoubtedly both a scientific man and a philanthropist, invented what were called metallic tractors. A pair of these consisted of two sharp-pointed instruments, looking as if made, one of brass, the other of steel, and said to have been fashioned from a peculiar combination of metals. They were alleged to have a galvanic efficacy in the treatment of local inflammations, rheumatism, gout and various other diseases. The tractors, with their points applied to the part affected,

were drawn over it downward rapidly for several minutes. Perkins carried his invention to Europe, and returned to this country with certificates of cures, under the attestation not only of English bishops and distinguished English civilians, but of many physicians of the highest standing, including no less than twelve of the foremost members of the profession in Copenhagen. A Perkinian institution was founded in London for the benefit of the poor, and no less than five thousand cases of cure were reported. Of course, with such a backing the tractors had an immense run in this country, and were still believed in and used by some sensible people in my boyhood. But they had by that time fallen into general discredit, mainly in consequence of cures seemingly wrought by sham non-metallic tractors made to simulate and counterfeit the genuine article. Since I have known so much of the undoubted efficacy of galvanism in local disease, I have been inclined to believe in the curative virtue of the tractors, especially as the kinds of disease to which they were applied are such as in the case of the sham tractors might have been, as they are sometimes now, within the range of mind-cure by an over-susceptible imagination. Perkins died in 1799, of yellow fever contracted in the introduction of what he supposed to be a specific for that disease in a hospital in New York. His tractors, however, attained the climax of success several years afterward, and meanwhile were assailed by large numbers of the medical profession with the intensest bitterness of an immovable conservatism. Fessenden's poem, in four cantos, is in earnest championship of the tractors, and in scornful derision of their *de*-tractors. The notes are a copious miscellany of matters, most of them relating to the subject in hand, and of an incidental value by no means insignificant as illustrating the condition of medical and physical science at the time, with not a few interesting personal anecdotes.

Shortly after his return to America, in 1805, Fessenden published at Walpole, still under the pseudonym of Chris-

topher Caustic, another mock-heroic poem, in several cantos, entitled "Democracy unveiled, or, Tyranny stripped of the Garb of Patriotism." This is a Hudibrastic tirade against Jefferson and the democratic party, spirited, showing a fine ear for rhythm and a mastery of the peculiar style in which it is written, with an intensity of venomous hatred which swells into the dignity of poetic inspiration. This poem too is annotated copiously and virulently. There is hardly a leading democrat who does not, with the President, incur an obloquy more bitter and rancorous than can be easily imagined by those of a younger generation, but which has left distinct traces in my memory, brought up as I was in the heart of Essex county Federalism. Bad stories, with not a particle of probability, are told in these notes, and the worst things are said of men on whom even partisan malice could lay no worse charge than having broken down in a speech in a United States court. We have here an illustration of what I once referred to in a Report before this Society,—the unauthentic character which a history may have if prime reliance be placed on contemporary materials.

Fessenden, after this publication, sometimes practised law, sometimes edited a newspaper, and finally settled down in Boston as editor of the *Farmer's Magazine* and the *Horticultural Register*, useful, respected and honored, and in intimate relation with John Lowell, Peter C. Brooks, Josiah Quincy, and other amateur agriculturists. After his life had taken this practical turn, in 1818, he published a long, elaborate and tedious didactic poem, entitled "The Ladies' Monitor," which in well worded pentameters of faultless measure reads very much as Pope's Essay on Man might, if entirely dephlogisticated.

Another regular contributor to the *Museum* was David Everett. He was a native of Princeton, Massachusetts, early an orphan, and without aid or encouragement in the self-training by which he was enabled in 1791, at the age

of twenty-two, to enter Dartmouth College. Previously, when teacher of a school in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, he had written for Ephraim H. Farrar, a nephew of the centenarian Judge Timothy Farrar, for so many years the oldest graduate of Harvard College, the piece with which thousands of infant orators have made their *début*:

"You'd scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on the stage."¹

Everett graduated with a valedictory poem, prophetic of the future glory of his country, prophetic, too, of a literary reputation that might have preserved his name with the Everetts of a later day, but for the stubborn ignoring of native genius by American publishers. After leaving college, while studying law in Boston, he wrote for the *Museum* a valuable series of papers entitled, "Common sense in Dishabille,"—a dishabille more comely than the court-dress of the average newspaper writer of our time. These papers consist of economics and ethics somewhat in the Poor Richard style, and indicate at once literary skill, practical wisdom and a high moral aim.

In 1810 Everett wrote for the Boston Theatre, and published—if at that date American printing could be called publishing—a drama in five acts, entitled, "Daranzel, or the Persian Patriot." This seems to me a work not unworthy of an Everett, and I can see no reason why it should have passed out of knowledge, except that it was too early for

¹ This genesis of Everett's poem may seem apocryphal, inasmuch as we are accustomed to the line,—

"May n't *Massachusetts* boast as great?"

But the piece was inserted by Bingham in his "Columbian Orator," which was for more than half a century the chief repertory for school-declamations. Bingham was a Boston man, and I have no doubt that he altered the ill-made line just quoted, from the more euphonious original,

"May not New Hampshire boast as great?"

Ephraim H. Farrar, then seven years old, was in later years a teacher in a school in Boston, adjacent to the Federal street church, and had for pupils, among other distinguished men, Rev. Drs. Tyng, Furness, Young and Lunt, William H. Gardiner, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

an American work to live. I have found two orations of Everett, in thought and style deserving emphatic commendation, also, an essay "On the Rights and Duties of Nations," with special reference to the affair of the Chesapeake, — a calm, thoughtful, learned, admirably reasoned, statesman-like paper, designed to justify, without attempting to intensify, the sense of wrong as to the treatment of our mercantile marine by the British naval force. Everett, originally a Federalist, became a member of the democratic party, and was Clerk of the House of Representatives when Gerry was governor; but with the full expression of his own opinions, he does not indulge in invectives against his opponents. Indeed one of his orations has for its pervading sentiment the duty of mutual candor and kindness incumbent on the two great political parties.

Everett practised law, for a little while in Amherst, New Hampshire, but before and afterward in Boston, where he edited *The Patriot*, and then took charge of *The Pilot*, a short-lived paper in the interest of DeWitt Clinton, as candidate for the Presidency. He also published an exposition of the Apocalypse, of which I can find no copy, and therefore cannot say how much he thickened and darkened the dense cloud of commentary in which that obscure book is hopelessly enwrapped. In 1813, he closed an honorable, industrious and useful life at Marietta, Ohio, whither he had gone under hopeful auspices, to establish a newspaper.

The only remaining contributor to the *Museum* whom I shall name is Isaac Story, the son of a clergyman in Marblehead, and a cousin of Judge Story. He was of the Harvard class of 1793, was a lawyer in Rutland, Massachusetts, and died in 1803, at the age of twenty-nine. He contributed to the *Museum* a series of poems, which he republished in Boston, in 1801, under the title of "A Parnassian shop opened in the Pindaric style, by Peter Quince, Esq." These poems are generally in the Peter Pindar style which

Wolcott had made popular. Many of them, however, are seriously patriotic, some of them fervently anti-democratic, some of them simply and tastefully sentimental. Story wrote, beside, several longer poems in pentameter, one of them in blank verse, not unworthy of the "Parnassian shop," if we suppose it placed, as a shop naturally would be, at a resting-place on the acclivity, not on the summit of the mountain. He published also an oration commemorative of Washington, and one on the Fourth of July, 1801, neither of which I have been able to find.¹ If Judge Story in an obituary of him does not give him unmerited praise, it was only his early death that forfeited for him an eminence fully equal to his cousin's.

I have examined such of the writings of all these men as I could find, and what impresses me most strongly with regard to all of them, is the purity of their style and their mastery of the resources of their native tongue. They were much better writers than the average of those who, in our own time, are especially praised as good writers. For this there are two reasons. One is that they did not aim at style,—an aim that always misses fire. The other is that they were fed on good books,—on books written while authorship was still one of the fine arts, before book-making became a trade without an apprenticeship. Everyone then read the *Spectator*, and though these men were none of them servile imitators, the prose of all of them has constantly reminded me of my own early conversance with that wonderful repertory of the purest, most euphonious, most graceful English ever written.

The verse of these men is less good than their prose; yet there is none of it that would not replace for the better many of the dreary pages, with else unknown names, in the voluminous collections of British poets.

I cannot close this sketch without mention of Joseph Tinker Buckingham, who was Carlisle's youngest appren-

¹ Both of these orations are in the library of the Society.

tice in 1796. As *printer's devil*, he was in daily intercourse with Dennie as the bearer of copy and proof, and he speaks of Dennie's deportment toward the apprentices as "marked with great urbanity and gentleness," and of his conversation with them as "pleasant and instructive." It was undoubtedly in this intercourse and in work on a paper of such surpassing merit, that Buckingham had the initial training which issued in making him one of the best writers that our country has ever produced. His autobiography is unsurpassed in the chaste simplicity and spontaneous beauty of its diction. The death of his father in his fourth year left his pre-eminently saintly mother and her infant children in extreme poverty; and in the whole compass of biographical literature I know of nothing so pathetic as his narrative of their privation and suffering, and of her unfaltering, sublime trust in the widow's God and the Father of the fatherless. I have read the story scores of times, and always with fresh and deep emotion.

Mr. Buckingham was best known as editor of the *New England Galaxy*, which struck with merciless justice at all sorts of shams and pretences, social, political and religious. By sanctimonious purists of every type it was denounced with holy horror, and while everyone wanted to read it, few dared to express for it the esteem, admiration and gratitude which very many felt. Yet the worst that can be said of the paper is that it was far in advance of its time; and it was in great part through its agency that the public mind grew into opinions then disavowed and deprecated. As far as I can recall the paper, which I read till it was discontinued, my belief is that it never aimed amiss, and never missed its aim. The editor was a man of keen moral sensibility, of sincere Christian faith and profound religious feeling, and it was consciously in behalf of truth and righteousness that he did battle. He was best known to a later generation as the founder and first editor of the *Boston Courier*.

It was my happiness to know him with some degree of intimacy, and to know him in the home which he adorned and blessed. One of his sons was and is my very dear friend, and I was often a guest at his house. Therefore, slight as was his connection with my subject, I am unwilling to dismiss it without my tribute of reverence and love to a memory so precious.

LETTERS FROM JOSEPH DENNIE TO ROGER VOSE.

GROTON, May 16, 1790.

DEAR FRIEND:

Nothing affords me more pleasure than your sentiments of the books you peruse. Conscious of your mental independency, of your judgment, and freedom from undue bias, when I peruse your opinions, I am sure to contemplate an exact transcript of truth in the light in which she appears to you. Now one grand design of reading is to furnish the mind with matter on which to ruminate. In a word to give birth to reflexion. Hence the ancients not unaptly denominated study, "pabulum mentis," by this intimating that they considered books as food, by feasting on which the intellect might gain vigor and arrive at maturity. Both of us keeping the above end in view, have recently perused the works of Beattie and Hume. That you have, appears from your opinion of those authors expressed in a late letter, the declaration of which opinion has given birth to the above remarks; that I have, the underwritten may, possibly, prove. I am fully sensible, that by many of the students Hume is admired; of this number I perceive you were a part. I cannot blame you. The scholar, who could not admire the elegance of style and the ingenuity of reasoning for which that author is so eminently distinguished, I should pronounce grossly deficient in taste. To deny him praise as an author would be literary blasphemy, but considered as a philosopher and as a man, I

think, Roger, that by every Rationalist he must be condemned. Logicians have long since told us, common sense daily tells us that all our knowledge acquired by reasoning is a deduction from intuitive perceptions and ultimately founded on them. Now, if an author prompted by vanity, by a fondness for singularity and paradox, availing himself of the ambiguity and poverty of language boldly attacks first principles and because they cannot be demonstrated true, sceptically and rashly doubts their existence, what can be expected should readers follow his example, but the utter extirpation of Science, Morals and Religion? Every novice knows that intuition shines by its own brightness, that nothing more lucid can be adduced for its illumination. Nothing can be more puerile than to attempt a confutation of those things, which we cannot but believe. Notwithstanding all the vaunts of false philosophy, we cannot withhold our assent from the belief of real existences, and if the disciples of Pyrrho will doubt that the sun shines, tho' to be convinced they need but open their eyes, common sense must apply to them the epithet of fools or another still more opprobrious.

I now hear you say, Dennie, you must allow his arguments are close, ingenious and incapable of direct refutation. I concede it. But be it remembered that the foundation that this sophistical structure is erected upon is a pile, if the expression may be allowed, a pile of "petitiones principii." Farther, if principles be denied, principles flowing from intuition, which as before observed, cannot be proved by anything more evident, it is true a *direct* refutation cannot be framed for obvious reasons, but a *reductio ad absurdum* will equally as well force assent and produce the brightest conviction. I know not by what means this mode of reasoning came to be called *indirect*, which as it should seem involves an idea of its inefficiency, for my very partial smattering of the mathematics suggests that Euclid frequently adopts this mode of demonstration, and you need not be told that the reasonings of that author are conclusive. I am not surprised at the popularity of Hume's scepticism. His language is pure and elegant, his arguments plausible and replete with subtlety. Aware of the forbidding appearance of a metaphysical folio, he has conveyed his reasonings in the gay and agreeable form of essays, hoping, by this artifice, to fix volatility and to rouse indolence. Pleased with the

vehicle in which his poison was conveyed and soothed by doctrines to their wishes most favorable, the superficial, the ignorant and profligate were ready to vote the universe out of being, and to scruple even their own existence. The opinions of this celebrated sceptic were not long suffered to insult the common sense of mankind. Among other opposers of the system appeared the puissant Dr. Beattie¹ concerning whom more shall be said in the next chapter.

Yours,

JOS. DENNIE, JUNIOR.

DEAR FRIEND :

In a late epistle you may recollect that I allowed Hume much praise as an author, but I condemned, and coldly too, that sophistry which labors to destroy common sense, that scepticism which dares, what will not mortals dare ! to doubt concerning intuitive truths. I concluded by remarking that the puissant doctor of Aberdeen had assumed the gauntlet and entered the lists of controversy. Concerning this champion, his book, its opinions and their propriety, something with your permission shall be said in the following pages.

The eye, even of carelessness, glancing over the pages of the Essay on Truth will immediately perceive that a sober, manly piety, that an uncommon zeal for morals and religion dictated the contents of this work. This earnestness, this zeal for what, it must be confessed, the majority of civilized mankind think true, biasses the reader in favor of this evidently good man and compels him to exclaim, like Pliny upon a similar occasion, that he would rather err with Beattie than think right with the philosophers.

The Essay on Truth commences by remarking that although the Deists disclaim verbal chicanery, yet in their works it is asserted that it most abounds. This is proved

¹ Beattie's "Essay on Truth," designed as a refutation of Hume's sceptical philosophy. It was published in 1770, and had a then unprecedented popularity, passing through five editions in less than four years, and being translated into several foreign languages. It received the superlative commendation of Dr. Johnson. It has probably been little read within the last half-century; but if superseded in the advance of philosophical thought, it probably bears the relation of thought-breeder to more recent treatises ostensibly covering the same ground.

by examination. One of the best definitions of common sense then follows, upon which just definition the Doctor's arguments chiefly rest. Though there is very little parade of ratiocination in this treatise, the Doctor, like every other real scholar, despising the syllogistic nonsense of the Aristotelian commentators, yet, his conclusions are so clearly, so naturally and justly drawn from irrefragable premises that they force assent even from the sciolist. The mode of reasoning here adopted is as happy as that of Euclid and none but those, who, like Mr. Hume, kick common sense out of doors, and determine to renounce their pretensions to rationality, can doubt of its excellency and truth.

Perhaps I may have mistaken your clause respecting Hume; perhaps it was not his moral but his political and miscellaneous essays that you admired; perhaps you meant to be understood as extolling the style, rather than the sentiments of this essayist. But even if this new ground be assumed, I think you are exposed to a defeat. For I cannot by any means concede that Hume is the better writer. If in polemic controversy perspicuity be absolutely essential, if without it disputes of this nature be but learned impertinence, then it clearly follows that Beattie, far from being inferior to the man whom he attacks, greatly surpasses him. That this is a fact may be proved by a recurrence to the pages of each author when it will immediately appear that the one is singularly obscure and indistinct, which indeed was necessary to his design, and the other as singularly plain and lucid. In elegance of style the Doctor is fully equal to the layman. Hume had doubtless in the earlier part of his life, cultivated the Belles Lettres, but from the moment he retired to France, and plunged himself into the dreary caverns of metaphysics, from that moment he bid adieu to all the splendid productions of imagination, and labored thenceforth to puzzle both himself and the world.

Yours,

JOS. DENNIE, Junior.

DEAR FRIEND:

In perusing Beattie, we immediately perceive that he possessed a rich, fertile and cultivated imagination.

Such is the beautiful energy and dignity of his language, that the poet breathes in every page. His periods are correct in a high degree. He is happy both in the selection and collocation of words. His knowledge both of poetry and music is evinced by the melody and just balance of his sentences. Beattie is himself a poet, and one of high rank. He has in addition to many others, written a poem entitled the *Minstrel*, which the critics declare one of the best productions that has appeared since the demise of *Queen Anne*. In fine to close these observations, Hume and Beattie both received the same advantages from celebrated Scottish seminaries, both were students and both were scholars. But in genius, abilities and in the employment of their talents, essentially different. Nature has bestowed upon one the imagination of a poet, a bold, vehement, and creative genius. In imagination the other was deficient, but he was endowed with singular sagacity, a patient and plodding attention, subtlety, and a talent for disputation. He was master of every trick, of every sophism in controversy. His mind was of that microscopic species that could disregard the vast and magnificent, and pore upon the obscure and the little. Beattie looked abroad, contemplated the wide expanse of nature, feasted upon her charms, and gratefully thanked the author of the feast. Hume pined in the dark cell of the sceptic, voluntarily obscured his optics, and then murmured because there was no light. The one could plod over the schoolmen's page, could trace the dreary mazes of Malebranche and Leibnitz, and wear life away among the reveries of Pyrrho. The delight of the other was to cultivate those valuable books, where truth and sentiment predominated, to roam over Fairy land with Shakespeare, to turn the moral page with Tillotson, and to imbibe the great truths of religion from the Gospel of God. Widely different, in fine, widely different did these great men employ their talents. The one labored in language indistinct as his perceptions, and dark as his designs, "to cloud the sunshine of our belief." The other pointed out a "vista" to heaven, asserted the dignity of truth and common sense, and defended Christianity in a style resembling the cause which he advocated.

From the perusal of Beattie I think, Roger, I have derived advantage. I have learned to make a just estimate of sceptics and scepticism. I have learned that time is

wholly lost, which is spent in tracing the intricacies of such authors. I have learned that such writings, contrary to the objects of other performances, bewilder the reasoning power, darken the understanding and harden the heart. That prejudice, which I ever cherished against metaphysics, is now rooted. To cultivate this barren, unprofitable science is worse than wasting, it is murdering time. Let every scholar study and re-study select parts of Locke. We should be acquainted with the operations of our own minds. But let the works of Hobbes, of Tindal, Hume, and Bolingbroke sink into that oblivious dream, to which they are so nearly allied.

Sincerely yours,

JOS. DENNIE, Jr.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1889.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds April 1, 1889.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$837.78.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1889, was \$108,067.63, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,620.84
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,568.45
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,409.67
The Publishing Fund,.....	21,418.78
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,688.31
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,850.06
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,130.18
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,767.78
The Alden Fund,.....	1,210.12
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,800.40
The George Chandler Fund,.....	538.10
The Francis H. Dewey Fund.....	2,084.25
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,.....	837.78
Subscription to Stevens's "Facsimiles" from E. L. Davis..	25.00

\$108,067.63

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$7,835.16.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending October 1, 1889, is as follows :

DR.

1889. April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$7,609.51
1889. Oct. 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	2,683.78
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	130.00
" "	Received for life assessment,	50.00
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	453.01
		<hr/>
		\$10,926.30

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1889,.....	\$1,591.25
By expense of repairs,.....	66.17
By printing "Proceedings".....	411.47
Books purchased,.....	125.71
For binding,.....	405.90
Incidental expenses,.....	110.26
For coal,	380.38
	<hr/>
	\$3,091.14
Balance in cash October 1, 1889,	7,835.16
	<hr/>
	\$10,926.30

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1889,.....	\$39,687.55
Income to October 1, 1889,	1,191.13
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00
Life assessment,.....	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$41,078.68
Paid for salaries,.....	\$978.75
Incidental expenses.....	98.71
For coal,	380.38
	<hr/>
	\$1,457.84
1889, October 1. Amount of Fund,	<hr/>
	\$39,620.84

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$18,240.86	
For books sold,.....	404.41	
Income to October 1, 1889,	547.23	
	<u>\$19,192.50</u>	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals....	626.05	
1889, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$18,566.45

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$6,612.09	
Income to October 1, 1889,	202.88	
	<u>\$6,815.57</u>	
Paid for binding,.....	405.90	
1889, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$6,409.67

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$21,157.42	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	634.73	
Publications sold,.....	38.10	
	<u>\$21,830.25</u>	
Cost of printing "Proceedings" and Index to Vol. IV.,...	411.47	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$21,418.78

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$1,618.44	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	48.55	
	<u>\$1,666.99</u>	
Paid for books,.....	33.68	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$1,633.31

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,	\$2,767.00	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	83.00	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$2,850.06

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,	\$1,147.00	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	34.43	
	<u>\$1,182.03</u>	
Paid for books,.....	51.85	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$1,130.18

1889.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$4,693.17	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	140.73	
	<u>\$4,833.90</u>	
Paid for repairs,.....	66.17	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$4,767.73

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$1,174.78	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	35.34	
	<u></u>	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$1,210.12

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	150.00	
	<u>\$5,150.00</u>	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	150.00	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$1,267.13	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	38.00	
	<u>\$1,305.13</u>	
Paid for books,.....	4.73	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$1,300.40

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$545.68	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	16.37	
Book sold.....	6.00	
	<u>\$568.05</u>	
Paid for books,.....	31.95	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$536.10

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance April 1, 1889,.....	\$2,025.00	
Income to October 1, 1889,.....	60.75	
	<u>\$2,085.75</u>	
Paid for books,.....	1.50	
Balance October 1, 1889,.....		\$2,084.25
Total of the thirteen funds,.....		\$106,527.89
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....		676.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....		837.78
Subscription to Stevens's "Facsimiles,".....		25.00
October 1, 1889, total,.....		\$108,067.63

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 888.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester.....	2,200.00	3,146.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester.....	1,000.00	1,200.00
4	Boston National Bank.....	400.00	492.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank.....	600.00	900.00
2	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	540.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston.....	3,200.00	4,064.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston.....	600.00	702.00
5	North National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	695.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
16	Shawmut National Bank, Boston.....	4,800.00	5,934.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston.....	3,300.00	3,168.00
31	Worcester National Bank.....	3,100.00	4,650.00
Total of Bank Stock.....		\$23,000.00	\$29,250.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,500.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.....	500.00	750.00
BONDS.			
	Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,350.00
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds.....	6,000.00	6,840.00
	Eastern R. R. Bonds.....	1,000.00	1,270.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.....	4,300.00	5,074.00
	Chicago, Santa Fe & California R. R.....	3,000.00	2,550.00
	Quincy Water Bonds.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate.....	42,950.00	42,950.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks.....	3,482.47	3,482.47
	Cash.....	7,835.16	7,835.16
		\$108,067.63	\$117,460.63

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1889.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1889, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 18, 1889

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THERE has been no undue excitement in the library life of the past six months, although an unusual amount of important work has been done. A distinguishing feature has been the large number of givers to and receivers from our collections; new avenues having been opened in both directions. As samples of the latter it may be said that the Centennial Celebration of Washington's Inauguration proved to be an opportunity for showing our wealth of contemporary newspaper material, and that various rare Indian title and other pages have been photographed for the use of Mr. James C. Pilling in his great government work in the department of linguistics. It may be added that our small but valuable collection of manuscripts written in the Oriental languages or connected with their study—the cream of which Dr. Edward E. Salisbury described nearly forty years ago in Volume two of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*—has been carefully examined by Professor George F. Moore, of Andover, one of a committee appointed by the American Oriental Society to lay the foundation for a comprehensive catalogue of such as exist in America. A new use for our College and Medical School Catalogues has been found by the Montana Medical Examining Board in their efforts to raise the standard of their profession in that State. It has happened that where careful lists of graduates had not been printed, we were able in some cases to refer the Board to the manuscript records. Thus, in a small way, rare newspapers, rare books, rare manuscripts and even college catalogues, though things of the past, have their real mission to-day. Even

to these treasures Colonel Washburn's words apply, for he said, you will remember, "They must not be left to rust unburnished but made to shine in use."

The following internal improvements should be reported. The book cases for the south side of the lower main hall, which were made ready for use early in June, have been nearly filled with our collection of United States government reports in cloth as issued by the several departments. The lower half of alcove R in the upper hall has thus been made free for our department of collective biography, the upper half having already been occupied by our individual biographies. We have moved Dr. Pliny Earle's noble collection of reports and other material bearing upon insanity—so fittingly referred to in the Council Report of last October—into the lower half of alcove L in the Salisbury annex, thus leaving the Haven alcove free for the remainder of the Haven library and the additions thereto provided by his fund. The preparation for these changes has necessarily entailed a great deal of preliminary work. For instance, a large part of the odds and ends of newspapers collected the past twenty years have been arranged for binding, and some satisfactory sales of duplicates effected. It seemed also a very desirable time to extend the system of re-distribution in which this Society has taken so prominent and it would seem so creditable a part. Exchanges with our government continue as usual. An acknowledgment from the State Librarian of Massachusetts, dated May 9, 1889, suggests the principle of exchange on which such returns are made. He says, "The box of documents received, and we are putting them in order with our other supply. They will help to fill many gaps in widely separated libraries. We shall be glad to serve you to the extent of our ability." The chief executive of Boston writes, "What you have sent has been reverently shared by the Public Library, the Mayor and the City Auditor. Command us all in return." Further service in this direction

has again been rendered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, the Worcester City Hospital, and other institutions; and our associate, Dr. Samuel A. Green, has once more cheerfully acted as our distributing agent of the duplicate benevolent society reports of Boston and vicinity. Reference should also be made to a large collection of municipal documents forwarded in exchange to Columbia College for special and immediate use in their department of political science.

The cases in the lower hall marked "Clippings of the War of Secession from Pickering Dodge," which had not been disturbed since they were boxed twenty-five years ago, have been carefully examined by the librarian. The clippings proper which are chronologically arranged, have been placed along-side the fourteen volumes so perfectly prepared and so beautifully bound, already in our alcove of Rebellion and Slavery. We may, however, congratulate ourselves that the great mass of this war newspaper material proves to be unclipped, and of the period from 1861 to 1864. It includes those of Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and a few from south of "Mason and Dixon's line." Thus our collection of war newspapers has been greatly strengthened, especially in New York journals. It is hoped that the duplicates which have been sent to the Boston Athenæum by way of exchange, will there produce a like result. Dr. Haven's references to Mr. Dodge and his valued gift will be found in his librarian's reports of October, 1862, October, 1863, and April, 1864. Following is a paragraph from his report of October, 1863, referring to the above mentioned collection; "Mr. Dodge has also deposited his assorted material for the continuation of that work, to remain in case the state of his health prevents him from prosecuting the work he has thus far so ably and effectively performed."

In the recent reproduction by the City of Boston of the

rare edition of 1660 of the Massachusetts Laws, Mr. William H. Whitmore, the Record Commissioner, was allowed to use our Secretary Rawson copy. This appears, on the whole, to be the most complete copy extant, though it should be added that some of the missing supplements have been supplied, in the reprint, from the Judge Story copy now in the Law Library of Harvard College. The edition of 1672 was photo-electrotyped two years ago under the direction of the same Commission, and we may hope that in time a copy of the first edition will come to light for similar treatment. Attached to our Rawson volume of 1660 is the following description of it in the handwriting of Dr. Haven, which it seems well at this time to preserve in print: "This is supposed to be the oldest edition extant. A previous edition was printed in 1649 but none of the copies are now known to be in existence. Bound with this are several Laws and Orders made at several General Courts in the years 1661, 1662 and 1663, printed and published by order of the General Court held at Boston 20th October, 1663. Also several Laws and Orders made etc. in 1661, 1662 and 1664. Also those made at Courts of May 3, August 1, and October 11, 1665. Also those made etc. May 25, and October 11, 1666. Also those made etc. April 29, 1668, and those made October 14, 1668, the last imperfect. These additions are paged separately." Our Society has a wide-spread duty as well as interest in the duplication of such material, though it is not at all likely to induce many cities to reproduce Colonial Laws as Boston has so liberally done.

And just here a word may well be added in favor of the preservation in print of early town and county records. This subject has been intelligently treated by John T. Hassam, Esq., Chairman of a committee of the Council of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, in a report made January 2, 1889, entitled "The Public Records.

The dangers to which they are exposed and the proper methods of preserving them." This report was accompanied by a circular addressed January 23, 1889, by Francis H. Brown, M.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Society, to the Clerk of every city and town in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and to the leading societies in interest. Attention is also called to the list of missing records of existing and extinct churches recently published—and it is to be hoped widely circulated—by Mr. Robert P. Swan, Commissioner on Public Records of parishes, towns and counties of Massachusetts. This list, which is doubtless submitted for additions and corrections could, like Clara Barton's war "rolls of missing men," be posted in town-house, or post-office at least in all the cities and towns named therein, and to it attention should be directed by the public press. If this first effort to secure the many estrays is wisely encouraged, good results and like action by other States are quite sure to follow. Let me add under existing churches, the fact that early records of the First Church (Old South), Worcester have long been absent from their archives, and under the same head state that Freeman in his *Annals of Sandwich* mentions the loss of the church records to the date of the ordination of Rev. Roland Cotton, November 28, 1694. A correction is evidently called for under extinct churches, in Sandwich. That ancient town has had many churches, some of which have been curiously denominated, but I am quite sure our associate Rev. Dr. Dexter will agree with me that on the list a two-line entry should replace the one-line entry of Puritan Protestant Episcopal!

A slight decrease in the total of gifts is fully compensated for by the fact that the number of givers is larger than ever. This evidence of a growing habit among our members is most encouraging. The usual statistics and a few special acknowledgments follow. The sources of accession to the 15th instant, have been two hundred and forty-seven:

namely, from thirty-eight members, one hundred and seventeen persons not members, and ninety-two societies and institutions, and the receipts eight hundred and nine books, twenty-eight hundred and forty-one pamphlets, one hundred and twenty-seven bound and ninety-seven unbound volumes of newspapers, eight volumes of manuscripts, two hundred and twenty-one autograph letters, fifty-eight engraved portraits, six photographs, five war coins, one steel plate, one map and a specimen of continental money. Of these; seven hundred and thirteen books, twenty-eight hundred and thirty-two pamphlets, three volumes of bound and ninety-seven of unbound newspapers, with the manuscripts and other articles enumerated, are gifts; ninety-six books, one hundred and ninety-one pamphlets, and one bound volume of newspapers are exchanges; and one hundred and twenty-three volumes of newspapers are from the bindery.

Our President's gift includes not only Spanish-American material, and the doings of learned societies, but local histories ordered so that the worthy scholar might be encouraged in his effort to preserve in print the vanishing records of places and persons. Vice-President Hoar adds to his usual gift of government publications a volume of the great work on Roman architecture, etc., by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and a very interesting cabinet photograph album containing the war governors. It should also be stated that we are indebted to him for the first stenographic report of a meeting of this Society. Dr. George Chandler has placed volume three of his monumental inscriptions of the Chandler family, with volumes one and two already in our manuscript room. The beneficent work of his Chandler fund is of course constant and far-reaching. In acknowledging from Dr. Lyman C. Draper a copy of his autographic collections of the signers of the Declaration and the Constitution, the fact that he includes that of our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, may well be noted. The receipt of

his interesting brochure on the Public Libraries of Worcester from our councillor, Mr. Samuel S. Green, suggests the desirability of reprinting that portion which relates to this Society. It would be a useful companion pamphlet to those of our Treasurer, published in 1873, 1876 and 1889. Mr. James F. Hunnewell sets an excellent example by forwarding for preservation and future use manuscript biographical memoranda relating to himself. Mr. Nathaniel Paine's semi-annual gift provides us with extra copies of his Drama in Worcester and his Societies, Associations and Clubs of Worcester. His account of our Society with Mr. Green's paper on the library, already referred to, both of which were published this year in the History of Worcester County—would make a most complete historical tract for our distribution. Rev. Grindall Reynolds adds to our alcove of collective biography, "Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord, second series, from 1795 to 1840." Mr. Reynolds, who was the author of ten of these sketches, has also secured for us through the Hon. George M. Brooks, the rare first series, to which Mr. Reynolds was also a contributor. Too high a value can hardly be placed upon such works, for they are most carefully prepared and are not often found in the market. A copy of the Diaries of Reverend Timothy Walker, the first and only minister of Concord, N. H., from his ordination, November 18, 1780, to September, 1782, which have been edited and annotated by our associate, Hon. Joseph B. Walker, have by him been added to our collection of such constantly useful material. Dr. Justin Winsor has furnished our portfolios with many Spanish-American maps, charts and other wood cuts. He has also informed us of three important letters relating to our library and its interests found by him in the Adams Archives at Quincy. They were addressed to John Quincy Adams, by librarian C. C. Baldwin, December 10, 1833, December 24, 1833 and February 1, 1835. Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield,

whose gifts to the Society have been frequent and valuable, has recently given thirty-five volumes, chiefly new works of the highest order, to the departments of art, literature and travel. A file of the W T I from Mr. W. Frank Cole, being duplicate with us, has enabled us to complete the set of the Worcester Free Public Library; and a nearly complete set of the Voice has been presented by Messrs. Funk and Wagnalls, the publishers. Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's invaluable index of American Local History in the Boston Public Library, received from the author, must rank with Poole and Durrie in constant and increasing usefulness. We are grateful to the Rev. Samuel D. Hosmer for volumes of the *Congregationalist* needed to continue our file; and to the editor, Mr. Marshall N. Rich, for the *Portland Board of Trade Journal*, containing as it does so much of local history and biography. With a large collection of engraved portraits, Mr. Benjamin W. Kinney has sent us an interesting photograph—side view—of his father's marble bust of the founder of this Society. General William S. Lincoln, whose interest in the Society has been long continued, has made a large and valuable addition to our Lincoln papers, including therein manuscript material relating to the "Massachusetts Claims," with autographs of peculiar interest and value. Charles S. Merrick, Ph.D., of the Worcester High School, has as a labor of love and with the approval of the library committee, put in order our collection of stamps and kindred material. Messrs. Sanford & Davis have placed upon our shelves their edition of Knowlton and Wheelock's Worcester local classic, "Carl's Tour in Main street," now for the first time published in book form, though thrice printed in the *Worcester Palladium*. It is to be regretted that the careful editor, Mr. Franklin P. Rice, did not give us more of his valuable foot-notes and an index to the whole work. Hon. Eli Thayer, "in acknowledgment of many favors," has presented his "History of the Kansas Crusade, its Friends

and its Foes; with an introduction by Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D.," and it has been placed in the alcove of slavery and rebellion. The Hampden County Musical Association begins the good work of preserving a printed record of its music festivals by sending its first report to the leading historical and antiquarian societies. We welcome first contributions from the Historical Society of Southern California, the Minisink Valley Historical Society, the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, and the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens, of London, having the past year failed to receive the appropriation asked of our government for the producing fac-similes of the manuscripts relating to America from 1763 to 1783, in the Archives of England, France, Holland and Spain, now offers them to subscribers as a purely business venture. President Salisbury, Vice-President Hoar and Councillor Davis have kindly directed the librarian to order the first five volumes at their charge, thus placing the Society on the list of First Subscribers. It may be well to add that the members of the National Library Committee at Washington were so favorably impressed with the importance of this enterprise, that they reported a joint resolution to Congress, authorizing the purchase of the proposed catalogue at an expense not to exceed one hundred thousand dollars.

A short list of wants was printed in the body of my report of last October to which the following list is supplementary: *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, all before July 15, 1847; May 25, 1848; May 31, June 7, July 26, September 13, 20, 1849; November 21, 1850; January 16, 23, July 10, September 25, 1851; January 29, February 12, April 22, November 25, 1852; June 11, August 13, September 3, October 29, November 5, 1853; May 13, 27, July 1, 22, August 26, September 9, 1854; January 6, 1855; January 31, September 26, 1857; March 2, October 26, 1861; May 10, September 27, 1862;

September 12, December 26, 1863; February 27, May 14, 21, 28, June 4, 11, 25, July, all, August 6, 13, September 17, 24, October 22, 29, November 12, 1864; February 18, March, all, April 1, 8, 15, 29, May 6, July 15, 1865; April 14, 1866; April 6, 1867; April 17, 24, 1869. Our Governor Lincoln set of the *North American Review* needs, to complete it for the market, numbers 2 to 21, inclusive, 22, 25 and 32. Our library set was years ago completed by a member whose imperfect file was made only the more imperfect by the transfer. It is possible we may again be as fortunate. Our western members will kindly note the gaps in our *Magazine of Western History*, namely: volume I., numbers 2-4, II., 1-3, 5, 6, IV., 6, V. 1, 2, 6, VI., 1, 6, VII., 3-5, VIII., and all thereafter. We lack volume VI., No. 4, of the *Library Journal*. Under the head of needs may also properly be included a new List of Members. Since the last was published in the Proceedings of April 1885, five foreign and twenty-one domestic members have died. I would therefore recommend the early printing of a revised list.

The death of Dr. S. Austin Allibone at Luzerne, Switzerland, September 2, 1889, should remind, at least, the library fraternity, of their debt of gratitude to him for his great Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors. It is well to recall the fact that in this work, which was begun as early as 1852, Dr. Allibone was greatly encouraged by our associate Mr. George W. Childs, whose house published the first volume. It is intimated that the Lippincott Company who printed volumes two and three have on hand the material for a fourth volume.

On the 5th of December, 1822, Mr. John Farmer, a faithful member of this Society, then of Concord, New Hampshire, addressed a letter to President Thomas from which I quote the following paragraphs: "A few days before the late annual meeting of the Society, I sent to

you through the Rev. Dr. Holmes a communication from my friend Mr. Moore, respecting an Indian fortification in Sanbornton in this State, accompanied with a plan of it and a view of the river, etc., on which the fortification is situated. I thought it might be a suitable paper for the second volume of the Transactions. If, however, it is not of sufficient importance to be inserted in that work we purpose giving it in our collections * * * * I will thank you just to mention in your next what disposition will be made of the communication referred to, as, if you intend it for publication in the Transactions, it will be improper to insert it in our collections until after it shall have appeared in the Transactions." The interesting document was from Mr. Jacob B. Moore, Mr. Farmer's partner, who in the brief note to the President accompanying it—which was written at Concord, N. H., October 18, 1822—says: "Your fondness for inquiries into the history and antiquities of our country, and my own obligations to contribute the little I am enabled to, in return for the distinguished honor of becoming a member of the Antiquarian Society, induce me to present you the following with my best wishes for your personal welfare and the success of the institution over which you preside." The plan was never printed in the Proceedings, but it was referred to by Mr. Haven in his *Archæology of the United States*, p. 42, and also in his report as Librarian in the Proceedings of October 23, 1849. He contributed both the account and plan to Mr. Squier for his "*Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York*," and they are given in Vol. II. of *Smithsonian Contributions*, p. 87. A similar plan and a description agreeing with ours in its general features are given in the *History of Sanbornton by Runnels*, Vol. I., p. 22.

I need hardly remind you that the printing-house of Farmer and Moore, like the earlier one of Isaiah Thomas,

represented a house of authors as well as publishers, and that they were—as our shelves and correspondence abundantly prove—laborers together for the good of this Society. I will merely add to what has already been said of the fortification at Sanbornton—now East Tilton—a statement of the fact that upon a superficial examination made by the librarian September 3, 1889, no traces were found of the great work herein referred to. A letter before me, written September 2, 1822, by John Farmer, that “chief of New Hampshire Antiquaries,” as Prof. Franklin B. Dexter of the Council has justly styled him—contains the following suggestive paragraphs: “I wish, Sir, I could procure the catalogue of your library, or if it has not been published, the various lists of donations which have been published. I should think that these have not been sufficiently circulated among the members of the Society, particularly those who reside out of the State. In this town there is what is called an Athenæum or Reading Society, in which, by depositing the various pamphlets relating to the Antiquarian Society, the objects and views of that institution will be more generally known, and may induce persons to send in their contributions. If you should have a surplus of such pamphlets as relate to the Society and will send a copy of each to me, I will endeavor to circulate them and have people understand what is intended to be accomplished by this national institution. There are in this country many ancient books scattered here and there, which were brought from England by the first settlers. Some of them are obsolete and but little value is placed upon them, and time is making ravages in lessening their numbers. These if collected would in the aggregate be a valuable acquisition, and to collect them it would be well that those who hold them should know there is a place for their deposit provided. * * * Will you be so good as to favor me with a list of the members of the Antiquarian Society belonging

to this State?" These extracts convey their own lesson. It is a curious coincidence that while writing this paper, a duplicate copy of Farmer's Genealogical Register loaned some thirty-seven years ago to one of the contractors for the erection of Antiquarian Hall, should have been returned by his widow with an expression of regret that it had so long been kept out of the library!

Three-quarters of a century ago to-morrow, *i. e.*, October 24, 1814, President Thomas in his communication to the members said: "Our Society is in its infancy, but it has a legal existence and by proper exertions will become useful to our country. * * Our library now consists of nearly three thousand volumes." He adds—and it might well be our text for the day—that "A Society cannot become extensively useful unless the objects for which it is instituted are pursued with some degree of energy." He further suggests, "That we may make the institution better comport with the name it bears, *American* Antiquarian Society, and more readily effect the purposes intended, it will be expedient to have a suitable number of respectable and useful members in all the principal cities and towns in the United States. * * To appoint some member in every capital or chief town in the United States and other parts of the continent, and wherever it may be thought by the Council necessary, to receive articles presented to the Society or purchased for them, and to take the charge of them until they can be forwarded to the library or cabinet." At the same meeting the first steps were taken looking toward the publication of a catalogue, for it was "voted that a catalogue of the Society's library be printed and a copy presented to each member." This action did not bear fruit, however, until 1837, when the first catalogue and for that matter the last catalogue, was issued.

If it be true, as has recently been said, that "A library is becoming a temple comprehensive of all knowledge,

which must furnish a key to unlock every door, an answer to every conundrum, and must use every method that can supply any information at any time that it is wanted," then is our mission truly comprehensive. And finally, whether it be true or not that the library is the "People's University," let us note the fact that to the founder of the University and to the founder of the Library as well, attaches the peculiarly deep and abiding gratitude of mankind.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.



Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, HERBERT B., Ph.D., Baltimore, Md.—His “In Memoriam Charles Dickinson Adams, 1839–1889.”
- ALDRICH, HON. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Twenty-four books; one hundred and twenty-two pamphlets; four files of periodicals; and the Boston Daily Advertiser, 1878–1889.
- ALLEN, Prof. WILLIAM F., Madison, Wis.—His “Place of the Northwest in General History.”
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Fifteen pamphlets; St. Andrew's Cross, and St. John's Echo, in continuation; and one photograph.
- BARTON, WM. SUMNER, Esq., Worcester.—Ten books; and thirty pamphlets.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—His manuscript volume three, of the Monumental Inscriptions of the Chandler Family; a steel plate portrait of himself; and eight pamphlets.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Esq., Worcester.—The “Tokio Times,” 1878–79.
- CHILDS, Mr. GEORGE W., Philadelphia, Pa.—“Celebration of his Birthday”; and a fac-simile of the first issue of the “Public Ledger.”
- CLARKE, Mr. ROBERT, Cincinnati, Ohio.—“Nineteenth Reunion of the Army of the Cumberland.”
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Esq., Cambridge.—His “Site of the First College Building.”
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Newspapers, relating to the Paris Exposition of 1889.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—Register of the University of California, 1888–89.
- DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Three Yale College pamphlets.
- DRAPER, LYMAN C., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His “Autographic Collections of the Signers of the Declaration and the Constitution.”
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His “Charity and Knowledge,” an address at the opening of Johns Hopkins Hospital.

- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., M.D., Boston.—Three of his own publications; sixteen books; and two hundred and fifty-one pamphlets.
- GREEN, MR. SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His "Public Libraries of Worcester"; and his Annual Report of the Worcester Free Public Library, 1889.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Boston.—Genealogy of the Hale Family; forty-five pamphlets; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- HALL, REV. EDWARD H., Cambridge.—His Tribute to Frederick Winsor, March 10, 1889.
- HITCHCOCK, PROF. EDWARD, Amherst.—One college pamphlet.
- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—"Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de Romani" by Giovanni Battista Piranesi; ten copies of the "Sherman-Hopkins Correspondence"; a photograph album of the Civil War Governors; six books; and one hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets.
- HUNNEWELL, MR. JAMES F., Charlestown.—Manuscript biographical material relating to himself.
- JONES, HON. CHARLES C., JR., Augusta, Ga.—His Confederate Memorial Day address, April 26, 1889.
- MASON, JOHN E., M.D., Washington, D. C.—Bishop Polk's "Christian Address to the Confederate Soldiers."
- NELSON, HON. THOMAS L., Worcester.—Twenty-one books; sixty-two pamphlets; a file of the "Banker and Tradesman"; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- NOURSE, HON. HENRY S., Lancaster.—His "Military Annals of Lancaster, 1740-1865."
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Eight copies each of his "Societies, Associations and Clubs of Worcester"; and of his "Drama in Worcester"; nine books; two hundred and twenty-five pamphlets; seven files of newspapers; five of his photographs; and an engraved portrait of himself.
- PEET, REV. STEPHEN D., Mendon, Ill.—His *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, as issued.
- PERRY, RIGHT REV. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His Annual address as Bishop of Iowa; twenty-five pamphlets relating to the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of Washington; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.
- REYNOLDS, REV. GRINDALL, Concord.—"Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord," Second Series, prepared in part by Mr. Reynolds.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Esq., Worcester.—"History of Worcester County," two vols., 8vo., 1889; seventy-nine selected books; four hundred and seventy-six pamphlets; and four files of newspapers.

SMUCKER, HON. ISAAC, Newark, Ohio.—His Papers on the "Washington Centennial"; and "Early Ohio Legislators."

TAFT, HENRY W., Esq., Pittsfield.—The "Book of Berkshire," prepared in part by Mr. Taft; and the "Commemoration of the Organization of the First Parish, Pittsfield."

THOMAS, HON. EDWARD I., Brookline.—One pamphlet.

WALKER, HON. JOSEPH B., Concord, N. H.—"Diaries of Rev. Timothy Walker, from 1730 to 1782," edited and annotated by Mr. Walker.

WASHBURN, HON. JOHN D., Worcester.—A cabinet photograph of himself.

WHEATLAND, HENRY, M.D., Salem.—The "Peabody Press," 1887-89, in continuation.

WILLIAMS, MR. J. FLETCHER, St. Paul, Minn.—His "Williams Family of Groves and Lappan."

WINTHROP, HON. ROBERT C., Boston.—His poem "To George Washington, April 20, 1889"; and "Proceedings of the Winthrop Training School, Memorial Day, May 12, 1889."

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ALLEN, MR. J. M., Hartford, Conn.—His "Locomotive" for the year 1888.

AUSTIN, MR. J. O., Providence, R. I.—One historical pamphlet.

BADGER, MR. JOHN M., Brookfield.—Goodell's Memorial address at Brookfield, May 31, 1886.

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THE NAVIGATION LAWS.

BY EDWARD CHANNING.

UNDER this general title I propose to describe the commercial policy of England, so far as it affected the English North American Colonies before 1760. I select the date 1760 simply because it marks, somewhat roughly to be sure, the ending of England's liberal colonial policy and the beginning of that illiberal policy which finally resulted in the American Revolution. The causes of the Revolution can be found in England's policy before 1760. But the germs were latent and might never have sprung into life had the liberal policy of the century before 1760 been maintained. In theory there was little or no change. The change really consisted in making the Navigation Laws a reality and in forcing the colonies to bear their share of the burdens necessarily incurred in carrying out an imperial policy.

England's commercial policy had been protective for centuries. Long before she possessed a colony, even before Cabot's voyage gave her a claim to land over the sea, England's statesmen had protected to the best of their ability the home industries of their country. As early as the reign of Henry VII. the importation of many commodities was restricted to English ships navigated by English sailors. Later in Queen Elizabeth's time foreign vessels were excluded from the English coastwise trade and fisheries. The Tonnage and Poundage act of James I. included the colonies under the usual designation of "dominions thereof" within its scope. But the first settlers of the early colonies were ordinarily exempted, by their charters, for a term of years at least, from the operation of these laws.

Whether bound by these laws or not the first colonists paid little or no attention to them. During the early years of the Great Rebellion, the restrictions were totally disregarded and the colonial trade fell into the hands of the most enterprising commercial people of the time, the Dutch. At length in 1645, the Long Parliament turned its attention to the colonies. In May of that year, "The Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of England taking into consideration that nothing more enricheth this Kingdom than commerce, whereby the navigation thereof is much increased"¹ ordained that "whale oil, gils, commonly called whalebone, and fins" shall be imported into England only in ships fitted out from England by English subjects, under penalty of confiscation. This ordinance was the beginning of the new period of England's commercial policy, and deserves on this account to be called the First Navigation Act.

The new policy found favor with the Puritan masters of England. In January, 1646, it was extended to the colonies generally, by an ordinance prefaced by the following preamble: "Whereas the several plantations in Virginia, Bermudas, Barbadoes and other places of America have been much beneficial to this Kingdom by the increase of navigation, and the customs arising from the commodities of the growth of those plantations imported into this Kingdom" etc.² The ordinance itself is in many respects singularly liberal. The colonists were treated by the English Parliament almost as equals. The right to export English goods free of duty for three years—security being given to land goods so exported in the colonies—was offered the colonists. In exchange, however, the colony taking advantage of this offer must not suffer or permit any goods to be placed on board any foreign vessel whatever within the limits of the colony, and in case, the ordinance continues,

¹ Scobell, *Ordinances*, under date of May 6th, 1645.

² Scobell, *Ordinances*, Pt. I., 113.

"any of the said Plantations shall offend herein, then the Plantation so offending, shall be excluded from the benefits of this ordinance, and shall pay custom as other merchants do of France, Spain, Holland and other Foreign parts."

Three years later the importation of French wool, silk and wine into England, Ireland and the "Dominions thereof" was prohibited.¹ The triumph of the Puritans and the establishment of the Commonwealth was not at all relished by the colonists of Virginia, Bermuda, and Antego or Antigua. The Long Parliament declared these colonies to be in a state of "rebellion" and prohibited all trade with them, and to better carry out this policy, excluded all foreign ships from the colonial trade unless a license were first procured from the Council of State.² This last enactment would seem to show that the Ordinance of 1646 had not worked well in practice. At all events the Ordinance of 1646 was neither continued nor confirmed.

In place of the policy of bribing the colonists to trade with the motherland, Parliament now adopted a policy of coercion pure and simple. In 1651, under the lead of the younger Vane—once governor of Massachusetts Bay—the Long Parliament passed an ordinance destined to be the foundation of England's commercial policy till the American Revolution. This ordinance³ is so important that I give an abstract of its more important provisions. It is entitled: "Goods from Foreign Parts by whom to be imported." The object of the ordinance is stated to be the "increase of shipping and the Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation." The first section provides that no goods or commodities whatsoever "of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, or of any part thereof * * as well of the English Plantations as others" shall be brought into England, Ireland or any other territories to this Commonwealth belonging in any vessels but such as do

¹ Scobell, *Ordinances*, II., 86, under date of August, 1649.

² Scobell, *Ordinances*, under date of October, 1650.

³ Scobell, *Ordinances*, 1651, cap. 22.

truly belong to the people of this Commonwealth or the Plantations thereof "and whereof the master and mariners are also for the most part of them of the people of this Commonwealth." The penalty for the non-observance of this provision was confiscation of vessel and goods. European goods could be imported into England, Ireland and the territories thereto belonging only in English vessels or vessels belonging to the country where such goods were produced or usually shipped. Such goods must be so brought from the places of production or usual shipment. No salted fish or whale oil, gills and fins could be imported except such as were caught in English ships, nor could they be exported except in such vessels. The only notable exceptions to the provisions of this act were Spanish and Portuguese goods of colonial growth, which might be imported from any port of Spain and Portugal. This exception was necessary, as otherwise Englishmen must have gone without Spanish and Portuguese colonial products, so stringent were the colonial systems of those countries. Foreigners were also shut out from the English coasting trade.

The Restoration came in due season. It brought with it no reversal of the Puritan commercial policy. On the contrary the financiers of the Cavalier reaction strengthened and extended the policy of their predecessors. One of the very first acts of the Convention Parliament was one granting certain duties on goods imported into or exported from the Realm and "the Dominions thereunto belonging" to the King for life, under the name of Tonnage and Poundage.¹ The duties levied depended in some cases on the place of importation, and alien importers were obliged to pay higher duties than the subjects of the English crown. This discriminating duty was usually twelve pence in the pound. But alien merchants often paid fifty per cent. and, in some instances, even one hundred per cent. more duty than

¹ 12 Charles II., Chap. 4.

natives. The best examples of this excessive discrimination were Spanish wines upon which the native importer paid thirty shillings per pipe while the alien paid forty-five; and broadcloth exported on which the native exporter paid three shillings and four pence export duty, per length of twenty-eight feet weighing sixty-four pounds, while the alien exporter paid six shillings and eight pence export duty, or just double. These principal duties were mentioned in the act itself. In addition everything brought into or taken out of the Empire was taxed according to a tariff which was annexed to the act. This was the "Book of Rates, signed by Harbottle Grimstone, Bart, Speaker of the House of Commons." This tariff occupies twenty-two pages in the great folio edition of the Statutes of the Realm, and equals any production of modern tariff makers in minuteness of detail and peculiarity of duties. For example: "Babies or puppets for children" were taxed on importation, per gross, seventeen shillings and ten pence, while "baby's heads of earth imported" were liable to a duty of fourteen shillings four pence per dozen; apples, called pippins, paid an import duty of four shillings per barrel; sea-holly roots imported were taxed one pound sterling per hundred weight; rugs, whether of Polish or Irish make, were taxed at importation by the piece, one pound six shillings and eight pence; and pins were liable to an import duty of two pounds and ten shillings the dozen thousand. The export duty that most attracted my attention was a tax of five shillings per hundred weight of one hundred and eleven pounds on all maps, "sea carts," books and pictures exported. At first I thought this was an export tax on paper levied indirectly; but there is no duty laid on paper not printed except the ad valorem duty of twelve pence on every twenty shillings' worth, levied on all goods not mentioned in the act or in the Book of Rates.

The next step was to re-enact and extend the legislation of the Long Parliament as to shipping. The first act on the subject passed after the Restoration is the 12 Charles

II., chap. 18, and is commonly referred to as the First Navigation Act, though in reality it was the successor of many Navigation Acts. The preamble states its object to be "the increase of shipping and encouragement of the Navigation of this nation, wherein under the good Providence and Protection of God, the wealth, safety and strength of this Kingdom is so much concerned." The first section provides that no goods shall be imported into England from the Plantations but in English ships or in ships built and owned in such Plantations—the master and three-quarters of the crew to be English. Section 18 should be read in connection with this. By it certain goods enumerated in the act itself, and hence called "enumerated goods," must be brought direct to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick-upon-Tweed, from the colonial shipping port. These "enumerated goods" were "sugars, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo and fustica, of the growth, production or manufacture of any British Plantation in America, Asia or Africa." The effect of these two sections of the act was to confine the trade in colonial staples to England. The colonies, however, were still at liberty to import European goods direct from Europe subject, of course, to the duties levied by the act of 12 Charles II., chap. 4. The second section provided that no aliens should be merchants or factors in the Plantations, and the sixth section closed the coasting trade of the empire to foreigners. The sections numbered three, four and five were virtual repetitions of the Ordinance of 1651, and confined the trade from known places in Asia, Africa and America to English vessels navigated by Englishmen, and, as in the ordinance, European goods could be brought only in English vessels or vessels of the producing country, and then only from the usual places of shipment. Both these acts were confirmed by the first regularly summoned parliament after the Restoration.¹

¹ The confirming act is 13 Charles II., Chap. 14.

In the 12 Charles II., chap. 18, the phrases "English built ships" and "English mariners" frequently occur. It soon became necessary to define both these terms. This was done by an explanatory act,¹ as follows: "No foreign-built ships—that is to say—not built in any of his Majesty's Dominions of Asia, Africa or America * * * shall enjoy the privilege of ships belonging to England or Ireland." As to the crew, the statute continues "it is to be understood any of his Majesty's subjects of England, Ireland and his Plantations are to be accounted English." This act therefore plainly and in so many words admitted colonial ships and colonists to the privileges and benefits of the Navigation Laws at that time in force. So far as my knowledge of the statutes extends this act was never repealed, nor was any other interpretation given to the words "English built" and "English subjects" in any subsequent act.

It should be noted, however, that the vessel in order to come under the act must be actually built in England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick-on-Tweed, or the Plantations. English or colonial ownership alone was not sufficient. At the time this distinction does not seem to have been clearly understood by ship owners or customs officials. In fact, as there were then no adequate registry laws, it must have been difficult to enforce any such regulation. The supply of English-built ships must have been entirely unequal to the demand for many years. At all events, for years not only colonial but foreign built vessels of English ownership were employed in the trade of the English Empire. In 1685-6 this practice was given a death-blow by the levying a discriminating duty of five pounds per ton for each voyage to England made by such English owned, foreign built ships.² Such vessels seem to have been still tolerated in the colonial and Irish trade.

From this rapid survey, I am inclined to think that, as

¹ 13 and 14 Charles II., Chap. 11, § IV.

² 1 James II., Chap. 28.

far as the colonial shipping interests were concerned, the Navigation Laws were a positive advantage. Colonial shipbuilders, colonial shipowners, colonial shipmasters and colonial seamen were given a share in the monopoly of the carrying trade of the English Empire. The demand for English built vessels must have been enormous in the years between 1660 and the close of the century. Colonial shipbuilders were placed in a singularly fortunate position. At all events the shipping and shipbuilding interests of the New England and Middle Colonies flourished greatly during this period and later, even to 1760. From time to time the course of colonial trade was further restricted. But colonial vessels and mariners were allowed to participate in that trade on a footing of equality with the vessels and mariners of England.

The act of 12 Charles II. permitted direct trade between Europe and colonial ports in English vessels except in "enumerated goods." The profit of handling these goods was given by the act to English brokers and merchants. In 1663, the government decided to place the handling of the whole colonial import trade in the hands of the merchants of England also. One reason for this new restriction may have been the impossibility of carrying out the Act of 12 Charles II. so long as foreign ships were allowed in the colonies. The reasons given in the act itself well set forth the commercial policy of the time, and are as follows¹ :—

"And in regard his Majesty's Plantations beyond the seas are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his Kingdom of England; for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a greater dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it * * * * * and it being the usage of other nations to keep their Plantation trade to themselves." The act is so important in the Annals of the Colonial System that I give the principal

¹ 15 Charles II., Chap. 7, Section V.

clause in full: "Section VI. No commodity of the growth, production or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into any plantation belonging to his Majesty (Tangiers only excepted) but what shall be bonafide and without fraud, laden and shipped in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed in English built shipping, whereof the master and three-quarters of the crew are English, and which shall be carried directly thence to said plantations." There were, however, some exceptions. For instance, salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland might be imported directly from European ports to those colonies in English vessels. This privilege was extended to Pennsylvania in 1727¹ and still later, in the next reign, to New York² on the ground that New York had at one time been a part of New England. Another exception was wine produced in Madeira or the Western Islands, which might be brought direct from those places in English built vessels. The last exceptions mentioned in the act itself were servants, horses and provisions "of the growth or production" of Scotland or Ireland, which might be imported direct from those countries in English built ships navigated according to law. In addition, small quantities of lemons seem to have been passed by the customs officials under the title of ship's stores. But I have found no authorization of this exception. Of course in all this the term "English built" and English subject must be interpreted according to the act of 13 and 14 Charles II., so this act, sometimes spoken of as the Second Navigation Act, hardly affected the shipping interests of the colonies.³

¹ 13 Geo. I., Chap. 5.

² 3 Geo. II., Chap. 12.

³ See, however, Lindsay, *Merchant Shipping*, II., 184, where in speaking of the 15 Charles II., Chap. 7, the author makes the following statement: "The unequivocal object of this clause was to secure to England, without, however, considering the interests of her colonists, the whole carrying trade of the world, Europe alone excepted." It will be noticed that the phrase used in the 15 Charles II., is "English built shipping" manned by an "English" crew. The word "English" in each case included the colonist. In fact, English writers of the modern economical school in endeavoring to throw odium on the commercial system of their fathers seem to have often overlooked important statutes.

According to this act European goods could not be imported by way of Ireland. In 1607, the direct importation of "enumerated goods" to Ireland from the colonies was stopped.¹ The trade in non-enumerated goods was still permitted. But the customs officials do not seem to have observed the distinction, as in 1731 it became necessary to pass an act² declaring in so many words that goods not enumerated in any act of Parliament might be carried direct to Ireland from the colonies in English built vessels. Ireland and Scotland were now on a footing of commercial equality and so remained till the union of Scotland with England in 1707. From that time Scottish merchants and shipowners participated with English merchants in all the benefits of the English imperial policy.

The Colonists seem to have paid little or no regard to these various acts. Colonial vessels seem to have sailed to whatever port seemed best to the owner or master, and there was no way by which a vessel could be traced from port to port. In 1682, an attempt was made to remedy this, and colonial governors, who often acted as customs agents, were required by law³ to send lists of all vessels loading enumerated goods in their colonies to the proper officials in England. If such vessels did not appear at an English port and there unload the "enumerated goods" specified in the list such vessel should be confiscated upon her first reappearance within the jurisdiction of the imperial authorities. There was, however, nothing to prevent the sale of a vessel in a foreign port, or a change of name between ports, and it seems to have been impossible even to procure the names of vessels loading enumerated goods in the colonies. To secure this last object, duties were laid⁴ on all "enu-

¹ 22 and 23 Charles II., Chap. 26, Sections X. and XI.

² 4 George II., Chap. 15.

³ 22 and 23 Charles II., Chap. 26, Section XII.

⁴ 25 Charles II., Chap. 7. Among these duties was one of five shillings per hundred weight on white sugar, of one shilling and six pence per hundred weight on brown sugar, and of one penny per pound on tobacco.

merated goods" laden in the colonies, to be collected at the time of shipment by collectors appointed by and responsible to the Commissioners of Customs acting under the authority of the Lord Treasurer of England. Money arising under this act should be paid into the Exchequer of England. Vessels loading enumerated goods should give bonds to land the same in England. Under this act custom houses were established in some of the colonies, and collectors appointed. But the Revolution of 1688 prevented the immediate carrying out of this stricter policy.

This will be the most convenient place to consider the regulation of the tobacco trade, as the system was practically completed at the accession of William and Mary. From the earliest time tobacco was a favorite subject of regulation, but the tobacco laws as they existed in 1760 date back, like the shipping laws, only to the Commonwealth. In 1652 Parliament by ordinance¹ prohibited the planting tobacco in England under penalty of twenty shillings for each pole planted contrary to the ordinance. The extraordinary power was given to "any person" of destroying tobacco growing in private gardens. This seems to have produced much hardship, and the next year it was provided that "planters of tobacco may enjoy the tobacco planted by them this year."² The law appears to have been observed after this, and in 1656, duties were laid of one shilling per pound on all tobacco not of English Plantation growth imported into England, while the duty on such English-grown tobacco was only one penny per pound. By the act of 12 Charles II., Chap. 18, tobacco was enumerated; or in other words, the profits of handling the continental trade in Virginia and Maryland tobacco were secured to English brokers and merchants. In the same year the planting tobacco in England was forbidden³ and a duty

¹ Jacobell, *Ordinances*, April, 1652.

² Jacobell, *Ordinances*, 3d Sept., 1653.

³ 12 Charles II., Chap. 34.

laid on all tobacco imported into England, Ireland and the Dominions of ten shillings per pound, if of Spanish or other foreign growth, and one shilling eight pence per pound on all tobacco grown in the English Plantations. These duties were to be paid at time of importation. But over and above the latter duty a tax of one penny per pound must be paid on all English plantation grown tobacco nine months after importation with a drawback, if exported within twelve months of the original importation. With such high duties on tobacco imported it proved difficult to carry out the prohibition of tobacco-growing in England under the moderate penalty of forty shillings imposed in the act of 12 Charles II., and in 1663, this penalty was increased to ten pounds.¹ But even this did not secure the desired end of making all tobacco pay a duty to the King, and in 1670, a still more stringent act² was passed providing that tobacco planted in England should be "utterly destroyed" once each year by the constable and other public officers in each parish or other local division. Exceptions were made in all these later prohibitory acts in favor of the "physick gardens" of the universities and other private gardens for physic and chirurgery so long as the quantity planted in any one garden was small.

These high duties levied under the Tonnage and Poundage Act of Charles II., coupled with the commissions and fees paid to brokers and warehousemen increased the cost of Virginia tobacco to the Frenchman or German and made illegal exportation of tobacco from the colonies enormously profitable. Of course it is impossible to speak exactly on such a subject; but the amount of evasion of the navigation and customs laws was sufficiently great to require the remedy of an Act of Parliament, and in 1672, as has already been mentioned, a tax of one penny per pound on every pound of tobacco placed on shipboard in the Plantations

¹ 15 Charles II., Chap. 7.

² 22 & 23 Charles II., Chap. 26, §§1-9.

was levied by Act of Parliament,¹—the duty to be paid and collected in the colony at the time of shipment by agents of the Lord Treasurer, the net proceeds, if any, to be paid into the English Exchequer. Soon after, Charles II. died and the Tonnage and Poundage Bill expired by limitation. The subject of the duties to be levied on tobacco imported into England thus came before Parliament afresh; and Parliament sought to prevent the evasions of the tobacco laws by greatly reducing the rate of taxation. Instead of ten shillings per pound, foreign-grown tobacco was now taxed only six pence per pound, while the duty on English Plantation tobacco was reduced to three pence per pound and a drawback of the whole duty should be allowed if the tobacco were re-exported within eighteen months. This duty was made perpetual by the 9th Anne, Chap. 21.

Attempts to evade these regulations were discovered from time to time and counteracting laws were passed. In 1715, for example, the "mischief of manufacturing leaves and other things to resemble tobacco" required a statute² to remedy it. Later, more effectual means of watching the tobacco traffic were found necessary, and the requisite legislation³ was passed. But notwithstanding all these regulations small quantities of tobacco found their way from Virginia to Continental Europe without being landed in England.

The years immediately following the Revolution of 1688 were years of confusion in the governmental service in England and the colonies. The Navigation and Customs laws seem to have been openly disregarded in many colonies. By 1695, William and Mary were firmly seated on the throne, and the English government turned its attention to the colonies. The Acts of Charles II. were explicit enough in their statements of what could and could not be

¹ 25 Charles II., Chap. 7.

² George I., Chap. 46.

³ 24 George II., Chap. 41.

done, and the penalties provided in these statutes were adequate. But the machinery provided for carrying the laws into effect was singularly inadequate. English-built vessels owned for the most part by aliens were admitted to the carrying trade of the Empire, and there were no means of identifying a vessel or of determining her carrying capacity. Under these circumstances it was no doubt impossible to enforce the Navigation and Customs laws. New legislation was necessary and was provided in the "Act for preventing frauds and regulating abuses in the Plantation trade" which stands in the Statutes of the Realm as the 7th and 8th William III., Chap. 22. This act is so important in its bearing on colonial trade that it might well be called the Colonial Navigation Act. Section two is as follows: "No goods shall be imported into or exported out of any Colony or Plantation, but in ships built in England, Ireland or the Colonies (except prize ships) and wholly owned by the people thereof" under penalty of confiscation of vessel and goods. The other sections provided for the registration of all English-built ships, and for the responsibility of all customs officials in the Colonies to the Commissioners of Customs in England. The registration proved to be a matter of considerable difficulty and Parliament was obliged to extend the time.¹ Indeed, it seems probable that the system of registration was never in colonial times carefully observed, vessels habitually being registered far below their actual size. Still, if they were registered at all, the enforcement of the navigation laws was made more easy and sure. All further shipping laws were in the nature of detailed regulations, and this act of 7 and 8 William III. may be said to have added the finishing touch to the colonial system so far as shipping was concerned.

The "enumerated goods" by the Statute of 12 Charles II. were tobacco, sugar, cotton-wool, indigo, and "fustich" of English Plantation growth or production. From time to

¹ 9th and 10th William III., Chap. 42.

time as other colonial exports attracted attention they were added to the list. Early in the eighteenth century, mines of copper were discovered, and before long copper ore was exported from the colonies to foreign European markets "to the prejudice of this Kingdom." Copper ore was therefore added to the list of enumerated goods.¹ In the same year, furs of colonial production were added to the list of enumerated goods,² and the duties on beaver skins were reduced from six shillings and eight pence per skin to two shillings six pence per skin; and a drawback of a moiety of the duty paid was to be allowed on all skins re-exported.

Even before this time rice and molasses had become important articles of colonial export and had been "enumerated."³ Carolina rice soon became well known in European markets and supplanted Italian and Egyptian rice in the countries of northern Europe. But the cost of transshipment so increased the cost to the continental consumer that Carolina rice could not be sold at a profit in Mediterranean ports. This was plainly against the interest of the Carolina planters, who were very good customers of the merchants and manufacturers of England. Early in the reign of George II. the prohibition was partly removed and Carolina rice was allowed to be exported direct from the Carolinas to European ports south of Cape Finisterre,⁴ and a few years later, this permission was extended to rice shipped to Georgia.⁵ Under this system, the production of Carolina and Georgia rice was enormously stimulated. But the amount exported from year to year cannot now be stated, and only the general effect of the favorable legislation can be given.

Another class of colonial products encouraged by the

¹ George II. Chap. 22, continued in 1764.

² George II. Chap. 22.

³ George II. Chap. 22.

⁴ George II. Chap. 28, continued in 1764.

⁵ George II. Chap. 36, continued in 1766.

English government was naval stores. These were placed among the enumerated commodities, and by the 3 and 4 Anne, Chap. 10, premiums on their production were provided as follows: On tar, per ton, £4; on pitch, per 20 hundred weight, £4; on rosin and turpentine, per 20 hundred weight, £3; on hemp, water-rotted, per 20 cwt., £6; and on masts, yards and bowsprits, per ton, girt measure, £1. These premiums were to be paid by the Commissioners of the Navy, who, for seventy days, had the right of pre-emption. These premiums were subsequently altered by the 2 George II., Chap. 35, in the case of tar being reduced to £2 4d.; of pitch, reduced to £1, and turpentine to £1 10s. In 1771, the premium on hemp was raised to £8. Suitable regulations to prevent foreign naval stores being shipped as colonial and to secure a good standard were adopted. It was also provided that if naval stores were re-exported the premiums should be repaid. English writers seem to be at variance as to the utility of these measures. It is certain that the amount exported varied greatly from year to year, and no general deductions can be drawn.

The most successful attempt to encourage colonial productions by means of bounties was in the case of indigo. Indigo was enumerated by 12 Charles II., Chapter 7. But no direct encouragement was given for its production till the middle of the century. In 1748 a premium of 6d. per pound on indigo imported according to law from the colonies was provided. In ten years, from 1747 to 1757, the amount of indigo exported from Charleston increased from 200,000 lbs. to 754,000 lbs. In 1763, the act giving this bounty was extended to 1770, the bounty to be reduced to 4d. per pound after 1763.

In other ways the colonies were benefited oftentimes by regulations intended primarily to extend some English or Irish manufacture. Let us take the case of linens, for example. By the Navigation Laws nothing could be exported

direct from Ireland to the colonies. But in 1704,¹ this policy was modified in favor of Irish linens, which henceforth, might be exported by any "native of England or Ireland" in an "English built" ship to the colonies direct. This was continued by 3 George I., Chap. 21, so long as British linen should be imported into Ireland duty-free. This last-named act also provided that Irish linens could be exported duty-free through England. To meet this competition of the Irish linen, English linens were also freed from export duties in the same year.²

Another act³ of Queen Anne freed seamen engaged in colonial commerce from imprisonment—though it was subsequently claimed by crown lawyers that this law was temporary and designed merely for the present war (Spanish Succession.) And still another act⁴ placed prize goods imported into England from the colonies on the footing of colonial merchandise.

In defiance of the Navigation Laws, an enormous and thriving trade was developed between the northern English colonies and the French, Dutch and Spanish West Indies. It was some time before the complaints of the British West India planters reached Parliament. But in 1733 an act was passed in which by laying a prohibitory duty on the importation of foreign sugar and molasses, Parliament hoped to stimulate and benefit the English West India planters. By this act,⁵ duties were levied on all rum, spirits, molasses, syrup and sugar of non-English growth, imported into the English Plantations. These duties were as follows: on rum and spirits, nine pence per gallon; on molasses and syrup, six pence per gallon; on sugar, five shillings per hundred weight. Regulations providing for bonds, licenses and certificates were contained in the act, and as year suc-

¹ 3 and 4 Anne, Chap. 8.

² 3 George I., Chap. 7.

³ 6 Anne, Chap. 37, §9.

⁴ 10 Anne, Chap. 22.

⁵ 6 George II., Chap. 13.

ceeded year and the act was not enforced, new regulations were devised¹ to prevent evasions of the law. The most curious of these, perhaps, was an act requiring shipowners to pay at least one-half of the seamen's wages after the return home of the ship. But all these regulations were futile, and in 1760, foreign sugar and molasses on which no duty had been paid formed one of the most important articles of New England's commerce.

The settlers of the northern and middle colonies turned their attention to manufacturing at a very early day. But it was not till well into the first quarter of the eighteenth century that the pernicious effects of these industries on the manufacturing interests of England attracted the attention of the English government. The hat-makers of England were the first to get their complaints acted on by the imperial legislature. In the fifth year of the reign of George II. was passed the act to restrain the exportation of hats out of the British Plantations, which proved to be the beginning of much legislation of a similar kind. The preamble is substantially as follows: "Whereas the art and mystery of making hats in Great Britain hath arrived to great perfection, and considerable quantities of hats manufactured in this Kingdom have heretofore been exported to his Majesty's American Plantations who have been wholly supplied with hats from Great Britain; and whereas great quantities of hats have of late years been made, and the said manufacture is daily increasing in the British American Plantation and is from thence exported to foreign markets heretofore supplied from Great Britain." For the reason thus frankly stated it was enacted that for the future "no hats or felts whatsoever, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished," should be conveyed from out of any British North American colony to any "place whatsoever by any person or persons whatsoever."² Suitable penalties were provided and an effort

¹ 19 George II., Chap. 23; 26. George II., Chap. 32; 29. George II., Chap. 26.

² 5 George II., Chap. 22.

was made to prevent a great increase in the number of colonial hat-makers by confining the number of apprentices any one hat-maker might employ to two. And furthermore, no negro should be employed in the making of hats in the colonies under penalty of five pounds sterling per month for each negro so employed.

The next colonial industry to be regulated was the iron and steel manufacture. But in this case Parliament adopted a more liberal policy than was adopted in the case of hats. The reason for this change of policy is plain. Cheap iron was desired by English iron-masters then as now. But in 1750, no commercially successful method of smelting iron with coal had been devised, and the supply of wood in England for smelting purposes was limited. The importation of cheap unmanufactured iron of colonial production was, therefore, to be encouraged, while the manufacture of iron and steel goods in the colonies must not be tolerated on any terms. In 1750, Parliament by statute carried out to the letter this two-fold policy. The title of the act¹ is as follows: "An Act to encourage the importation of pig and bar iron from his Majesty's colonies in America; and to prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron; or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer; or any furnace for making steel in said colonies." By this act, colonial pig iron might be imported free into any port of the United Kingdom, and bar iron might be so imported into the port of London. But no such colonial bar iron could be carried coastwise nor inland more than ten miles from London unless the duty were paid. Sufficient regulations were provided to prevent foreign iron being imported as colonial iron and, as stated in the preamble, all iron factories or mills except for making bar iron were prohibited in the colonies.

A few modifications of the Navigation Laws remain to be

¹ 23 George II., Chap. 29.

noted. In 1750¹ silk of English plantation growth and manufacture could be imported into the port of London duty free. The preamble of the statute states this remission of duties is in the nature of a bounty. The actual payment of bounties by authority of the imperial Parliament began in 1769.² In 1748,³ the export of tea from London to the colonies was permitted without the payment of the duties levied on sales of tea in England. Three years later pot and pearl ashes of colonial production were admitted free of all duties.⁴ In 1757, during the stress of war, English ports were opened to colonial grain and provisions,⁵ and the exportation of such food supplies to foreign countries was prohibited except as to rice, which might still be carried to ports of Europe south of Cape Finisterre.

¹23 George II., Chap. 20.

²9 George III., Chap. 38.

³21 George II., Chap. 24.

⁴24 George II., Chap. 51.

⁵30 George II., Chap. 9.

THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY IN CAMBRIDGE.

BY FREDERICK W. PUTNAM,

Peabody Professor in Harvard University and Curator of the Museum.

THE President has suggested that it would be acceptable to the society to have a brief account of the Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge.

With such critical résumés as those of our lamented Haven and our honored Winsor ready at hand, I am not called upon to review what was known relating to the native races of America previous to October, 1866, when George Peabody gave \$150,000 for the foundation of a museum and professorship of American archaeology and ethnology, in connection with Harvard University. Nor is it required that I should give an account of the few museums and collections in this country, which, prior to 1866, contained objects collected from various tribes of North American Indians, or from Mexico, or from Peru, or picked up here and there over the land. You all know that such collections were not very numerous and that but few were of any special interest or importance. Even the collection made by Squier and Davis, during their researches in the Ohio Valley, was nearly all sold to the Blackmore Museum in England, so slight was the general interest in this country in relation to our antiquities. It is, however, the great work of these authors, "The Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," published as the first volume of "Contributions to Knowledge" by the Smithsonian Institution in 1848, that began the new epoch in American archaeology.

It is interesting to us that this work, which has held so prominent a place in American archaeology, was followed three years later by Morgan's great ethnographic study, "The League of the Iroquois," and that in this same year, 1851, Professor (now Sir) Daniel Wilson, then on the other side of the Atlantic, gave to the world the term *prehistoric*, using this word in the title of his instructive volumes, the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," to designate a time preceding the historic records of his country.

I think we may fairly reckon the beginning of a new epoch in archaeological investigation as coincident with the introduction of this new term, prehistoric. Although much good work was done before, and in America there were a few men who had made important researches¹ and whose work was largely incentive to what followed, it was about that time the great impetus was given to archaeological research in Europe and America. Workers and publications rapidly multiplied and many collections and museums were begun, while anthropological societies and journals greatly increased in number. Sir John Lubbock—in the preface to the first edition of his "Prehistoric Times," published in 1865, a book which above all others in its several editions has been the means of awakening a general interest in the study of early man,—thus refers to this important period when he writes: "Ethnology, in fact, is passing at present through a phase from which other sciences have safely emerged; and the new views with reference to the Antiquity of Man though still looked upon with distrust and apprehension, will, I doubt not, in a few years, be regarded with as little disquietude as are now those discoveries in astronomy and geology, which at one time excited even greater opposition."

We have already come to that time when the antiquity of man is no longer disputed; the only question is, how much greater is his antiquity than we have positive evidence.

¹ As Atwater, in 1820, whose paper is in the 1st vol. of the *Archæologia Americana* of this Society.

It was, then, during this period of great impulse given to archaeological and ethnological research in all directions, that the Museum at Cambridge was founded. Anthropology had become an established science, embracing many well-defined subdivisions, and man was being studied under all his aspects. The science of man was no longer phrenology; ethnology had a definite meaning, and archaeology became the study of the works of man in prehistoric times. The day had gone by when collections of bric-a-brac were designated museums.

It was a fortunate time for the establishment of a museum to be devoted to the single object of the study of man. There was no dead weight of the past for it to carry, and it could start with and keep abreast of the times. It was also most fortunate that its first curator, my honored predecessor, Professor Jeffries Wyman, was a man trained in the science of comparative anatomy, so that he naturally brought his life-long methods of study to the new work before him, and began a collection which should furnish the means of a comparative study of man and his works. Unfortunately, he was destined to give but eight years of his life to this new work, but we all know how fruitful were those years, notwithstanding his almost constant struggle with ill health. During this time, and for several years following, the collections, which were constantly increasing in size and importance, were arranged as far as possible in the limited temporary quarters in Boylston Hall. In 1877, the first section of a fire-proof museum building was completed as a part of the great University Museum, between Divinity Avenue and Oxford Street. This section is 80 by 40 feet, and five stories high. As fast as the cases could be put up, one portion after another was arranged and opened to the public. So rapidly, however, did the increase of the collections take place¹ that before the rooms in this

¹ As an illustration of this increase I may state that, during the past year nearly as many specimens have been received as were comprised in the entire museum at the time when I was placed in charge, fourteen years ago.

section of the building were fairly supplied with suitable cases, their insufficiency for the proper arrangement of the specimens became apparent; and many important collections have for several years been stored so that they could be used for special study though unseen by visitors. This deficiency of room has, within the past year, been supplied in part by the addition of 60 by 60 feet as the second section of the building; and as fast as these five halls and galleries can be furnished with cases the systematic arrangement of the collections will be carried on. This building as it now stands is only one-half of the contemplated structure, and it is to be hoped that means may soon be secured to erect the remaining portion, in order that the arrangement of the Museum as a whole, with all its collections in their proper order and sequence, may be carried out. It is worthy of remark in this connection that although nearly \$120,000 has been expended in the erection and equipment of the present building as it stands to-day, there is still left one-half of the original gift of \$60,000 designated for the building, and that the Museum and Professor funds of \$45,000 each have remained intact. Certainly this is a good exhibit of the financial management of the funds by the Trustees, of which the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop has been chairman from the first; and but few trusts can, I think, show better results, both in the fulfilment of the objects of the trust and the careful management of the finances, than this one of twenty-three years' standing. Yet the Museum is greatly in need of funds for its further development, and the Trustees now hope that its acknowledged importance, together with its careful management in the past, will soon bring special foundations for its requirements.

In making this allusion to the Board of Trustees upon whom so much labor has devolved, I may be permitted to remind you that the President of this Society is by virtue of his office one of the seven members of the Board, and I

may add that our late lamented President, the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, was the first treasurer and for sixteen years had the special care of the funds of the Museum.

That a wrong impression may not be conveyed in relation to the work which has been accomplished by the Museum, notwithstanding its limited income, it is proper for me to state that for ten years past the income of the Museum fund has been hardly sufficient to meet the necessary expenses of administration. Hence it would have been impossible to have carried on the important researches which have been made in the field, had it not been for the liberal contributions of friends for this purpose; and among the contributions should be included the \$8,000 for the purchase and preservation by the Museum, of the Serpent Mound and its immediate surroundings, and for explorations in its vicinity. It is upon such aid that the Museum must depend for all it may do in the future, as its expenses of administration have increased now that the building is double its former size.

The methods of research instigated and conducted by the Museum together with the special method of arrangement of the collections, have made it of the first importance in the study of American archaeology. Much instructive material has also been gathered relating to the existing tribes of America; but heretofore, for want of room, little of a purely ethnological character could be exhibited. In the new halls, however, there will soon be an instructive exhibition of this material. The collection of about 2,000 crania and many hundred skeletons, only a small part of which have been heretofore exhibited, will also be brought into proper places in the general plan of arrangement, and will greatly assist the visitor in reading the story of the peoples of the past.

In relation to the methods of field research and the arrangement of the principal collections, which have given to the Museum its prominent position, it may be stated that

in the first case, the collections have been largely made by trained explorers in the field, who have done their work in a thorough manner and have brought together masses of material of inestimable value for study, as each object is authenticated and the exact conditions under which it was obtained and its association with other objects fully recorded. In this way the larger part of the collections has been obtained from the systematic and thorough explorations of burial-places, caves, shell-heaps, village-sites, mounds and ruins in many parts of North, Central and South America; as well as many extended examinations of gravel beds, peat bogs, river and other deposits of greater or less geologic age. In all this work the rewards of patient research have been great, as may be seen by the large number of specimens thus secured. These visible results, however, are but a portion of those obtained in relation to the past history of man in America. The field notes, drawings, plans and photographs, which form such an important part of all thorough exploration, furnish additional means for a comparative study of one set of objects with another.

In the second case, by the arrangement in the Museum of these special collections, each as a whole, in their geographical sequence, each tells its own story in all its details. No selection of specimens, in order to show the most perfect, strange or specially interesting objects, is permitted. All are arranged so as to tell their story to any student, with fidelity to the facts as they are. Any visitor can thus go from case to case and obtain through the eye an impression of the particular condition or stage of development of any one people as shown by their works. Comparisons can be readily made between objects found under similar conditions, and by going to the next series in the room another comparison can be made between peoples closely related geographically. Or, the comparisons can be made between one geographical region as a whole and that of another, by

going from one room or gallery to the other. In this way a series of distinct pictures are impressed upon the mind of the visitor, and the student has the means at hand for making comparative studies, without having constantly to eliminate objects which would attract the eye and convey false impressions.

The value of this arrangement is very soon appreciated by all students who visit the Museum, and so long as it is permitted to remain, the student of any future generation will have the same opportunity of drawing conclusions from the study of any particular collection as did his predecessor who brought it together; and the way is kept open for the student to correct any errors in the conclusions of his predecessors.

In the discussion of such collections every one is left at liberty to advance such theories as he may, and to draw such conclusions as he will; but these collections should never be arranged to illustrate a theory, they should represent the facts only.

Other departments of the Museum will be arranged to illustrate various and special points in the history of man, as for instance: one to show, in as brief a way as possible, the physical characteristics and special arts and customs of each variety of man. Another will show the distribution of certain implements and weapons through time and space, and so on, but all such collections will be distinct and apart from the other departments of the Museum, and will be constantly subject to change according to the ideas of successive curators in charge of the Museum.

When this free and unperpetrated sketch of the Museum, it appears to me, is made, the only serious question in relation to the collection of Antiquarian objects is solved, it seems legitimate to draw conclusions from the arrangement of the Museum. However, it will be necessary to keep in mind these conclusions must be regarded as approximate.

First, it appears to be a record of the progress of man.

The considerable series of chipped stone implements from the gravel beds in New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio and Indiana, and from a certain deposit in Minnesota, give conclusive evidence that man existed previous to the deposition of these beds. The series of photographs and drawings placed with the specimens give good representations of the deposits in which the implements were found; and these deposits the geologists tell us are of glacial origin, but in some cases modified by the flow of water from the melting ice north of the terminal moraine. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that the rude stone implements, found all the way from the surface of these deposits to a depth of 30 feet, are of the same age as the bed from which they were taken. The Trenton gravel, which is the youngest of the series, is the source of the greatest number of implements, as shown in the Abbott collection. This Trenton gravel rests upon another gravel deposit which is regarded by all geologists as immensely earlier in time than the Trenton; and yet in this earlier, or Columbia gravel as it has been designated by Mr. McGee, there have been found, by Abbott in New Jersey and Cresson in Delaware, several implements which give us the evidence of a still greater antiquity for man. The Trenton gravel we may now regard as the second epoch in the history of man in the palæolithic age.

Leaving out of consideration all other facts relating to the antiquity of man in America, we have here the evidence that man occupied a large portion of the Continent south of the great terminal moraine, at a time when the glacial region northward was under Arctic conditions. This gives us an antiquity for man, estimated by geologists as certainly eight to ten thousand years, since his implements were buried by the most recent of these deposits in the Delaware valley; and of many thousand years earlier if the chronology of the older gravels is correctly determined.

At all events, we have a considerable period of time through which we must trace the various changes that have

come to man in America since he was a contemporary of the mammoth and the mastodon, and was hunting the reindeer in the valley of the Delaware.

What became of this early man and what were his relations with other races are interesting problems which may in time be solved, and the collections in the Museum are of the greatest importance in this connection. In the Abbott, Cresson and Lockwood collections there is much which shows that this interglacial, if not preglacial, man advanced in his arts as the ice retreated northward, and that he learned to fashion implements of a delicate character by flaking pieces of argillite so as to form knives, spear-points, and probably arrow-heads, of which implements there are several thousand specimens in these collections.

These flaked implements of argillite were found under such conditions that they mark a more recent period than the palæolithic implements buried in the gravel, and yet are far older than the occupation of the region by the ancestors of the Indians known to history. The early implements of the latter are principally of jasper, chert and quartz, and largely of different forms from those of argillite. They are, moreover, seldom associated with the argillite points found beneath the black soil but never in the gravel. This is well shown by Dr. Abbott and exhibited in the collection bearing his name in the Museum. Similar facts are shown beyond question by the implements found in the different layers of a rock shelter, as exhibited in the Cresson collection.

The three periods of occupation of the Delaware valley are now well established and are designated as the palæolithic or the oldest, the flaked argillite or middle, and the jasper or Indian.

There are three human crania in the Museum which were found in the gravel at Trenton, one several feet below the surface and the others near the surface. These skulls, which are of remarkable uniformity, are of small size and

of oval shape, differing from all other skulls in the Museum. In fact they are of a distinct type, and hence of the greatest importance. So far as they go they indicate that palæolithic man was exterminated, or has become lost by admixture with others during the many thousand years which have passed since he inhabited the Delaware valley.

Time will not permit of an extended review of all the evidence that could be taken from the collections in the Museum relating to the several distinct races or varieties of man which have inhabited North America. A brief statement of conclusions must therefore suffice.

An examination of the different collections will show that a dolichocephalic race which is known as the Eskimo, extends across the northern portion of the Continent. While this race has marked peculiarities in physical features which are shown in part by their skeletons, and also in their arts and language, they have much in common with the dolichocephalic people adjoining them on the south and it may be that the two are varieties or branches of a common stock, both of which have mixed with palæolithic man during the argillite period. The Eskimo branch of this race seems to have been driven north and to have become greatly modified by the conditions of existence; while the other, in time, extended down both coasts of the Continent and somewhat into the interior. The descendants of this branch we know as the northern and eastern Indians.

Another race, distinct in many ways from the long-heads of the north, particularly in being a brachycephalic people, seems to have entered America on the Pacific side somewhere between Mexico and Peru, and to have sent its branches north and south. The greatest development of this short-headed race was in Mexico, Central America and the coast portions of northern South America as far as Peru. Its branches, however, attained a considerable development east of Mexico, as in the old Pueblo region, and as the ancient earthwork builders of the Ohio valley and the region

south to the Gulf. In the descendants of the branches of this short-headed race we have the Central Americans, the Mexicans, some of the Pueblo nations and a large element in the southern tribes.

In relation to the Carib stock of the West Indies and northern Atlantic coast of South America, the material in the Museum is too meagre to permit of any conclusions except that it probably became included in the mixture of some of the southern tribes.

Thus there are the following elements to be taken into consideration in any endeavor to trace the present North American tribes and nations back to their origin. First, small oval-headed palæolithic man. Second, the long-headed Eskimo. Third, the long-headed people south of the Eskimo. Fourth, the short-headed race of the southwest. Fifth, the Carib element of the southeast. All these elements must be studied with their differences in physical characteristics, in arts and in languages. From a commingling of all, with greater or less predominance of one over the other, uniting here and subdividing there, through many thousand years, there has finally resulted an American people having many characteristics* in common, notwithstanding their great diversity in physical characteristics, in arts, in customs and in languages. To this heterogeneous people the name Indian was given, in misconception, nearly four hundred years ago, and now stands as a stumbling-block in the way of anthropological research; for under the name resemblances are looked for and found, while differences of as great importance in the investigation are counted as mere variations from the type.

It is in such Museums as this at Cambridge that the facts are now being gathered, and we may hope in time to be able to determine aright the complicated history of the ancient people of America.

COTTON MATHER AND HIS SLAVES.

BY HENRY W. HAYNES.

THE "Rules for the Society of Negroes, 1693," printed in our Librarian's report for October, 1888,¹ are to be found, with the exception of Section IX., in a MS. diary of Cotton Mather, for the year 1693.² That section which contains an allusion to "the catechism in the Negro Christianized," could not have been prepared earlier than 1706, when a little tract with that title was printed by him anonymously.³ It may have been added at any time between that date and the indorsement made by Judge Sewall upon the broadside in our library: "Left at my house for me, when I was not at home, by Spaniard, Dr. Mather's Negro: March 23, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$." A beautiful little reprint of this same broadside was made by our associate, Dr. George H. Moore, in July, 1888, in the preface of which he states that he found in Cotton Mather's Diary for 1693, "the following account of this production: 'Besides ye other praying pious meetings which I have been continually serving in o^r Neighborhood, a little after this period a company of poor Negroes, of their own Accord, addressed mee, for my Countenance to a Design w^{ch} they had, of erecting such a Meeting for y^e welfare of their miserable Nation, that were Servants among us. I allowed their design and went one evening & prayed & preached [on Ps. 68. 31.] wth them; and gave them following orders, w^{ch} I insert duly for y^e curiosity of y^e occasion.'"

Dr. Moore, however, makes no allusion to the fact that Section IX. is not included in the MS. diary.

¹Proceed. Amer. Antiq. Soc. (N. S.), vol. V., p. 419.

²Diary, 1693 [Oct. 10.] (Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc.)

³Diary, 1706. [Begin. of June.] (*Ibid.*)

Judge Sewall's indorsement does not relate, I think, to a negro belonging to Dr. Cotton Mather, as our Librarian seems to infer from his reference to a statement by Mr. William B. Weeden that "Cotton Mather employed his negro servant."¹ *Spaniard* was probably the Spanish Indian servant referred to by Mr. Sibley, whom Cotton Mather, in speaking of "the retaliating dispensations of Heaven towards" himself, says he bought and bestowed upon his father, Dr. Increase Mather; adding, "some years after this a knight, whom I had laid under many obligations,"—without doubt meaning Sir William Phips,—"bestowed a Spanish-Indian servant upon me."² I have not found in any of Cotton Mather's Diaries the precise passages quoted by Mr. Sibley, but in that for 1681 occurs the following: "Memorandum. About this time I bought a *Spanish Indian*, and bestowed him for a *Servant* on my Father. This thing I would not remember in this place, but only because I would observe, whether I do hereafter see some special and signal returns of this action in y^e course of my Life. I am secretly persuaded *That I shall do so.*" In a side note he adds: "Now see what I have recorded in the Thirty-fourth year of my Life."³ This note refers to the following in a later diary: "Memorandum. About Fifteen years ago I bought a *Spanish Indian*, and bestowed him for a *Servant* on my Father. About Three years ago S^r *William Phips*, o^r governour, bestowed a *Spanish Indian* for a *Servant* on myself. My *Servant* affecting y^e *Sea*, I permitted him to go to Sea; and being an Ingenuous fellow, I gave him an Instrument for his Freedom, if hee serv'd mee till y^e end of y^e year 1697. Two years ago y^e *French* took him and I lost him: The loss occasioned me to make a cheerful Resignation unto y^e will of God. But I was hereupon persuaded, I often ex-

¹ Proceed. Amer. Antiq. Soc. (ubi. sup.), p. 108.

² Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. I., p. 597.

³ Diary, 1691, 19, 4m. (Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc.)

pressed my persuasion, that my *Servant* would be returned unto mee. In the Beginning of the year an English *man-of-war*, by taking y^e vessel, wherein my servant was Retook him. Nevertheless y^e *captain* of the man of war, being a Fellow, that had no principles of Honour or Honesty in him, I could by no means recover my servant out of his hands, who intended to make a perpetual *slave* of him. So, I gave over my endeavours to Recover him, chiefly troubled for y^e condition of y^e *poor servant*.”¹

But this was not the only slave presented to him. In a subsequent diary he writes: “This Day a surprising thing befel me. Some gentlemen of o^r church, understanding, (without any Application of mine to them for such a thing) that I wanted a Good Servant, at the expense of between Forty and Fifty pounds, purchased for me a very likely *Slave*; a Young Man, who is a Negro, of a promising Aspect and Temper, and this day they presented him unto me. It seems to be a mighty smile of Heaven upon my Family; and it arrives at an observable Time unto me. I put upon him y^e name of *Onesimus*; and I resolved, with y^e help of y^e Lord, that I would use the best Endeavours to make him a servant of Christ; and also be more serviceable than ever to a flock, which laide me under such obligations.”²

At different times he seems to have owned other slaves. I find him writing: “unto my surprise, when I came home, I found one of my negroes horribly arrested by spirits.”³

Later, he speaks of his “negro servant Obadiah,” in reference to whose baptism he had previously made several anxious entries.⁴

Abundant evidence is to be found in his diaries of his sincere interest in the material as well as the spiritual welfare of his slaves. His latest biographer, Rev. William B. O. Peabody, bears witness also to the philanthropical kind-

¹ Diary, 1696, 12d. 6m. (Lib. Amer. Antiq. Soc.)

² Diary, 1706, 13d. 10m. (Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc.)

³ Diary, 1692-3. [Begin. of Sept.] (*Ibid.*)

⁴ Diary, 1718, Oct. 21. (*Ibid.*)

ness displayed by him towards the African race in general. "Perceiving," he says, "that the negroes, though kindly treated, had not those advantages of instruction, which were necessary to make them familiar with the religion which he wished to have them embrace, he established a school, in which they were taught to read. And he himself bore the whole expense of it, paying the instructor for her services at the close of every week. There are many, who point out to others the way of duty and benevolent exertion; but this was better; it showed that he was willing to make sacrifices as well as to enjoin them on others; indeed, that he could sometimes impose on himself, what he would not ask others to do."¹

But it is upon the occasion of his preparing the little tract, "The Negro Christianized," before referred to, a copy of which is preserved in the Prince Collection, now at the Boston Public Library, that the deeply religious motives which prompted this kindness are best displayed. I find in his diary in reference to this: "In the Beginning of *June*, I did, with the Help of Heaven, dispatch a Work, which my Heart was greatly sett upon; a Work which may prove of Everlasting Benefit unto many of the Elect of God; a Work which is Calculated for the Honour & Interest of a glorious CHRIST; and a Work, which will Enrage y^e Divel at such a rate, that I must Expect, he will immediately fall upon me, with a storm of more than ordinary Temptations; I must immediately be buffeted in some singular manner, by that Revengeful Adversary. And the late Calamities on y^e American Islands, I thought, had a Word in them, to quicken my doing of this Work. I wrote as well contrived an Essay as I could, for y^e animating and facilitating of that work, the Christianizing of the *Negroes*. It is entitled, THE NEGRO CHRISTIANIZED. *An Essay to Excite and Assist that Good Work; the Instruction of the Negroes in Christianity.* And my design is not only to Lodge one of

¹ Sparks's Amer. Biography (1st Ser.), vol. VI., p. 305.

the Books, in every Family of *New England*, which has a *Negro* in it, but also to send Numbers of them into the *Indies* & Write such Letters to the principal Inhabitants of y^e Islands, as may be proper to accompany them.”¹ The reference to “the late calamities on the American islands,” is to the ravaging, by the French, of the islands of St. Christopher and Nevis, in the West Indies, and to the contributions for the relief of the sufferers, taken up in the churches in accordance with a proclamation issued by Gov. Joseph Dudley.² Upon this occasion Cotton Mather’s church contributed nearly one hundred pounds sterling.³

¹ Diary, 1706. [Begin. of June.] (Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc.)

² Sewall’s Diary, vol. II., p. 94.*

³ Sewall’s Diary, vol. II., p. 42.*

ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY CYRUS HAMLIN.

IN the spring of 1856, just as the Peace of Paris had closed up the Crimean war, Christopher R. Robert, a veteran merchant of New York, spent a week at Constantinople, *en route* from Egypt and Syria to Vienna and other capitals of Europe. A sheer accident led him to visit the Bebek Seminary of the American Board, which had then been sixteen years under the writer's care. This visit germinated into a deep interest in Oriental education, and led to a long correspondence. It was not until 1859 that he definitely proposed to embark in the novel scheme of founding an American college in Turkey, an institution which like our colleges should lay a broad foundation for after-building. His first proposal was very different from his great achievement. It was to head a subscription paper with \$10,000, promising a reserve of \$30,000 to meet contingencies. Having once embarked in the enterprise, after long consideration, he was not the man to abandon it because of unforeseen difficulties, and he had furnished me with \$208,000 for its prosecution when I retired from it.

It will be the object of this paper to give a brief historic sketch of the difficulties and obstacles which the enterprise encountered and of the manner in which most of them were overcome.

I purchased the first site for the college on the upper slope of the village of Karoocheshmé (dry fountain), on the Bosphorus, at the close of 1859. A well of 110 feet depth was dug without finding water. In May, 1860, I came to the United States to obtain with Mr. Robert's aid \$100,000

for the erection of a wooden building that might receive one hundred students, and for providing it with the needful furniture and apparatus for beginning operations on that scale. I resigned my official connection with the American Board in order to prosecute this as an independent enterprise. In passing through England, much encouragement was given to the scheme by gentlemen of wealth and distinction. In this country, the faculties of Harvard, Yale, Amherst and Bowdoin colleges expressed their high estimate of the scheme. Professors Felton and Agassiz, with Washburn and Parker of the Harvard Law School, exerted their influence to give the effort a favorable introduction to the public. There seemed to be a reasonable prospect of speedily obtaining all we had in view. But the political excitement of the presidential election became so great that it was decided to defer the effort until after the election.

I need not say that the election only increased the excitement. The subscribers to the fund, or rather, those who had promised to subscribe \$10,000 each said, positively, "nothing can be done until this affair with the South shall be settled." A public meeting was to be had in Boston, at which Edward Everett was expected to preside, but it was postponed.

After the firing upon Fort Sumter, Mr. Robert acknowledged the futility of further effort, but immediately placed \$30,000 in the hands of trustees and said, "return to Constantinople and by the time you have expended this amount upon the building our difficulties will be settled, and you can then return and take up the work of the endowment. But obstacles only thickened as we advanced. Soon after reaching Constantinople, in June, 1861, the Sultan Abdul Medjid, upon whose favorable disposition we had great reliance, suddenly died, and Abdul Aziz reigned in his stead. He had a favorite, Fetih Ahmet Pasha, who was a man of splendid personal appearance but of very cruel and infamous character. He had a cottage, a summer-house, overlooking

the site of the college, and he sent word to me that the Sultan would allow no building to be erected there. We knew that it was only the Pasha's will, but he ruled the Sultan, who always sustained him in his most atrocious deeds. While considering what should be done, our advisory committee of two gentlemen from each nationality most interested, decided that it would be unwise to incur hostility by pressing the case. A Turkish gentleman of high character sent me a special message advising me not to get the hostility of that man. "Yield this point and you will disarm him, and perhaps make him your advocate in some future need." We did so and I could never find that in the future contest he took any part whatever against us.

The abandonment of this site was made easy by an unexpected event. The owner of the site I first of all selected, as the finest, the most desirable position on the Bosphorus, who would not listen to our proposal for its sale, had become involved in his finances and now offered it at a reasonable price. It would have been a wise transfer, even if there had been no interdict. For in this favorite site there were inexhaustible supplies of the best building-stone, and also water attainable without great expense. A contract was made with the utmost secrecy, with the condition that the money, about \$8,000, should be paid over when the government should grant official leave to build the college in that place. In the meantime, the Ministry of Public Instruction endeavored to bind me to certain impossible rules before it would grant its sanction. I evaded them by affirming that the college would be conducted in loyalty to the Turkish government, and in accordance with the character of American colleges, which have no political or partisan character. Our library, our textbooks and all college exercises would be open to inspection every day from morning prayers, in which the Sultan and his empire would be prayed for, until 9 o'clock in the evening. Official and un-official visits would always be welcome

for we had nothing to conceal and only wished to be known. After a wearisome delay of months, the official permission was given and the money was paid. The deeds were made out and given in due order, and a force of men began quarrying stone and digging for the foundations. I was superintending their work when an officer of the Sublime Porte appeared and said "the work must be suspended for a short time until some formalities shall be completed." What formalities? He could not say. He acted from orders. How long must this suspension be? "Probably a couple of weeks or so." It was more than seven years! I apprehended some serious change in the government policy as the ground of such an unexpected order, and I was not long in discovering the source.

The Abbé Boré, a French Jesuit, who had played many parts in the East,—priest, consul, military officer, diplomat,—all with a certain skill and daring, was then at the head of the Jesuit missions in the East, which he was pushing with watchful vigor to counteract at every point Protestant missions. He was undoubtedly a man of great ability and of varied attainments. He had himself long aimed at having a Jesuit college at some prominent point on the Bosphorus, but Turkish prejudice and policy were invincible. Now when he found that another had obtained what he had failed to obtain he very naturally resolved to block his path. There were then two political parties among the Turks, the progressives or the young Turkish party, and the old bigoted moslems, comprising the ulema, the moolahs, imams, the teachers of the law and a large portion of the official class. The former had been nursed into life and influence by Sir Stratford Canning and Reshid Pasha. The Abbé easily stirred up the old Turkish party against this Protestant college, the scheme of a heretic and a "Ghiaour." The French embassy was under his control in all religious questions; all the catholic embassies would go with him, but above all and more than they all was the Russian influ-

ence. The great Russian Ambassador, General Ignatieff, rarely *appeared* in any question of this kind. Had I met him, he would undoubtedly have spoken in the highest terms of the projected college, and expressed himself desirous to do everything in his power to aid it. But I found ere long that everybody, high and low, who was known to belong to the Russian party, was an enemy to the proposed college at Roumelie Hissor.

It was evident the diplomatic contest might be a long one, but I had right on my side, and right must finally prevail, if we stand firmly by it. The American embassy refused to involve itself officially in our case against the government, and months having passed in fruitless efforts, I resolved upon a course that would give the proposed college a real existence,—“a local habitation and a name,”—without having any controversy with the government or with any one else. The Seminary which had been twenty years under my care at Bebek had been closed by the American Board. Dr. Anderson wished to reduce it to a vernacular curriculum, and turn out pastors rapidly by a short course. I refused to be party to such a scheme, and Dr. Anderson thought it wiser to remove the seminary from me rather than me from the seminary. The building remained empty, and I proposed to Mr. Robert to arrange with the American Board for the occupancy. He did so and furnished me with three thousand dollars for repairing and fitting it up. A very strong and sacred principle of Turkish administration, of which I had seen signal illustrations, enabled me to do this. It is the principle of “adet” or prescriptive right. What has been openly permitted for a length of time cannot be forbidden. A common saying is “adet is stronger than the Sultan’s firman.” Twenty years of “adet” covered my right to have an institution of learning then, in that building. I issued the programme of the college in some six or seven languages, and it was opened in November, 1863. In vain did the Abbé Boré

accuse me to the Porte of opening the college without a government permit or firman. The curt reply was "that American Ghiaour has had a school there these twenty years. We care not what name he gives to it. He will have it there twenty years longer if he pleases unless he commits some crime against the government." So Robert College continued restricted to that building until May, 1871. It could receive only seventy students; seventy-two was its highest crowded number, and every year we had to reject forty to fifty applicants. This restricted state of the college was very annoying, but it was not wholly lost time. It gave us a good opportunity to test the applicability of our plan to these peculiar circumstances of races, languages and religions. In the meantime we continued to prosecute our case with the government with all diligence.

I will confine myself to the following five distinct efforts, as their history will be substantially the same with the others.

After sending repeated petitions and arguments to the Grand Vizier, receiving always about the same answer, "The affair will be looked into," and after seeing that our own embassy would do nothing to aid us officially, although ready for "officious" aid, a diplomatic phrase of Constantinople for unofficial intervention not involving the prestige of the official, I laid the case before Sir Henry Bulwer, the English Ambassador. He was probably sent to Turkey because it was thought that the infamy of his licentious life would better befit the Turkish capital than the English, but he was a master of state-craft, and as Louis Napoleon demanded the retirement of the all-regnant Lord Stratford, Bulwer was sent to match the Russian. England has reason still to deplore the results of her foolish weakness. Knowing that the English government would patronize anything that promised good to Turkey, I laid the case before him. He was extremely gracious, said he would examine the case and let me know what course he would take. After some

time he required evidence that the college was not a "scheme of religious propagandism." In reply I sent him our curriculum of study, the college course entirely in English, our advisory committee composed of gentlemen of different nationalities, languages and religions, and my honorary diplomas from Bowdoin, Harvard and the University of New York, to prove to him that I had the sanction of high and differing authorities. After a few days he returned the papers as entirely satisfactory, and assured me that on the first good opportunity, he would bring that question to a conclusion. "I will never drop it until you have leave to build." I waited long and at length received a note saying that the Grand Vizier, Aali Pasha, had acceded to his demand, and in the course of three days or so, official leave would be sent to me. It was not surprising that I should wait a week or more, but instead of the official leave I received another note from Sir Henry, telling me I had made an unwise purchase, I should have known the Turks would never allow me to build a college on that conspicuous site, etc. The penalty should fall on my own head. The English embassy would take no further interest in it!

This was quite astounding and not a little discouraging. I made no reply to Sir Henry, but set to work to find out what had taken place. I soon found he had received a bribe of \$50,000 to himself and \$5,000 to one of his mistresses from the Pasha of Egypt to settle a quarrel of his with the Sultan. Bulwer was glad to accept the bribes and do the work. He not only sold the power of England for his private interests, but he accepted the three conditions which the Grand Vizier imposed: to abandon the Servian question, the Bulgarian question and the American College. Hence the second note. For once his craft failed him. This case of atrocious bribery became known and Bulwer had leave to return to England.

During the decade 1860-70, there was, what does not now exist, a young Turkish party, as before mentioned.

It was composed of progressives,—educated, enlightened men, brought into existence by the influence of Sir Stratford Canning and Reshid Pasha. While the authors had passed off the stage the party showed no little vitality and often controlled or modified public policy. The two most distinguished leaders were Fuad Pasha and Midhat Pasha; both were personally favorable to the college enterprise. I had a period of hopeful diplomacy with each of them. Fuad failed through the craft and overpowering influence of the Grand Vizier, who boldly falsified Fuad's report on the case. In the whirl of Turkish official changes the Sultan by some caprice made Midhat Grand Vizier. It was hoped now that we should have a period of real reforms and that the Hatti Humayoon would be really executed. My troubles were surely at an end. He was in favor of the college. He had done me personal favors. He assured Mr. Brown, our Secretary of Legation, that he would attend to it so soon as the pressure of his new appointment should be over. Before that was over he was displaced and our expectations perished. It was gratifying to know, however, that he had brought the subject before the Grand Council and obtained its approbation, and also, that of the Council of Public Instruction. There only remained the order from the department of Public Works. When an official is displaced, all business not actually complete falls to the ground.

After long delay, Lord Lyons came in place of Bulwer. I had now an advocate who would not fail me. He expressed great surprise at the proofs of Sir Henry's contradictory course which he found in the archives of the Embassy. He, also, was bringing the subject to a favorable conclusion when he was suddenly called to Paris. On leaving he wrote me a note saying Aali Pasha had promised him all he asked, and he was confident I would have no more obstruction. Before Lord Lyons reached Paris, Aali Pasha sent for me and wanted to *swap* territories. The

place he offered was both difficult of access and very steep. I told his Highness a college built there would be sure "to run down hill and get to the bottom." He laughed at the *double entendre* and said, "Well, Mr. Hamlin, I will send to you a man on Friday who will show you another site which I am sure you will accept." The site proved to be a clay flat. I saw at once his design to make me understand that my case was a hopeless one. I had heard of his impatient exclamation "won't this Mr. Hamlin ever die and let me alone on this college question?" I wrote him a very firm note: that my claim was that of justice which would never die; that the college was under the direction of a syndicate organized under the laws of the State of New York, and if I should die it would not change the question in the least. If his impotent exclamation was intended, as some supposed, to suggest that a true believer might give to that troublesome Ghiaour a cup of medicated coffee, he could not hope thus to reach a corporate body.

I then wrote a letter to the Vekil of the Armenian Protestants, indicating how the Grand Vizier, as a Turkish statesman ought to think and reason on the question, and begged him to explain to me the reasons of a course so opposed to Turkish interests and favorable to the enemies of Turkey. Among other things I said the Pasha ought to know that ultimately political complications will compel him to grant a great deal more than we now ask. In a private note I asked him to translate the letter into Turkish and let the Grand Vizier know that he had received such a letter, and as a public servant he felt it was his duty to say it was at his service if he chose to read it. When he returned it he made the single remark that the letter contained important considerations which would receive due attention. The remark on political complications reappeared as an important one some years later. I knew of no particular complications. I had seen so many ques-

tions before the Turkish government turn in that way I made the remark on general principles. Nothing at the time came of it.

Then Mr. Morgan of New York, brother of the then governor, a wealthy banker, and a personal friend of Secretary Seward, visited Constantinople. I invited him to the college site, on a beautiful afternoon when he could enjoy Turkish scenery, coffee and chibouks. He was so delighted with the view and with the position for a college, that he promised to go to Washington and present the case to Secretary Seward, who, he was sure, had not yet understood it. He asked me for all the written suggestions I could make, which I gladly furnished him. Mr. Seward promised to see Blacque Bey, the Ottoman Minister, and if that should bear no fruit, he would take the other measures proposed. In consequence of the interview, Blacque Bey wrote to the Grand Vizier that the American College question had better be settled favorably to the Americans, or, by-and-by it would become a thorny question, "*une question épineuse*." We knew of this despatch, but nothing came of it.

Last of all came Admiral Farragut in 1869. I saw no significance in that. I was very much absorbed in other things. My little boy Alfred came into my study and said, "Father, won't you take me down to see our great Admiral." I said, "No, my son, we spent a whole day in trying to see Frederic (crown prince of Prussia) and we didn't see him after all. I would like to see him myself, but I can't spare a whole day to not see a man." The evident disappointment upon his countenance suggested to me how I would have felt at his age, and I said to him "Look here Alfred, I will go down with you early to-morrow morning, and if we find the old Admiral, well and good, if not, we shall come right home." So we went and found the Admiral all alone. He asked me at once if I was a resident and what was my occupation. I told him briefly of the College.

He evidently did not wish to hear it. He said, "I am sorry the Turks should treat you so unjustly, but I can do nothing for you. I have no diplomatic mission whatever"; and turning to the boy, he said, "Whose son is this?" And then putting his hand on his shoulder, said, "Well my son, what are you going to do in this world,—what are you going to be?" "I don't know, Sir," said the boy in his simplicity, "I wouldn't mind being Admiral of the American fleet." The Admiral laughed, and patting him upon the head, said, "Ah, my son, my son, if you are going to be the Admiral of the American fleet"—and to my disgust, the door opened and in came Dr. Seropian, who knew the Admiral, and with his hand out, said, "Good morning, Admiral. I am glad to see you here with Mr. Hamlin. You have come just in the nick of time to get him leave to build," etc., etc. As soon as the Admiral could get a chance to speak he said "Why doctor, I can do nothing; I have no diplomatic mission here." "Just for that reason" persisted the doctor, "you can do everything we want. You are to dine to-night with Aali Pasha, the Grand Vizier. Just ask him why that American College can't be built. And so when you dine with the Capudon Pasha and Seroskeer Pasha and the Molié Pasha, ask them the same question. That's all." "Anybody may ask the king a civil question," said the Admiral, "and I am quite ready to do that." "If you do that, Admiral," I said to him, "I would suggest that you make no reply to what they may say but receive it as satisfactory although there may be very little truth in it." I do not know how he understood the suggestion but he seemed to enjoy it, and said, "I'll do it, I'll do it." Others came in and the interview ceased. When I found he was to sail, I went down to ask him about those questions, but his cabin was full of diplomats, and I wished him a good voyage and left. Some days after, a *kiatib* (clerk) of the Sublime Porte came and sat down beside me in a Bosphorus steamer and said "Mr. Hamlin

I want to ask you a question. Was your great Admiral sent here by your government to settle that college question?" I knew at once he had asked the question and it had produced an excitement that had spread through all the rooms of the Sublime Porte. But nothing came of it. The effort to secure justice had been unremitting for seven years, and it was becoming monotonous. The college, too, chafed more and more under the restrictions imposed upon it. Scores of applicants were rejected every year. They were coming in from all parts of Bulgaria where the thirst for education was evidence of a complete "renaissance." The Abbé Boré was evidently not pleased with the success of the restricted college, and, in order to attract students, he liberalized the so-called French College under his care, in the same village, to that degree that his course displeased his superiors at Rome and another was sent who drew the reins so tight that all the non-Catholic and many Catholic students left, and finally the college was closed for repairs and accidentally burned.

A few months had passed after the Farragut excitement when one afternoon our minister's messenger boy, Antoine, entered my study with a letter. The substance of the note was this:

"I congratulate you, Mr. Hamlin, on the termination of your long contest with the Turkish government. I have just received a note from his Highness Aali Pasha saying, tell Mr. Hamlin he may begin the building of his college as soon as he pleases. No one will interfere with him, and in a few days the *imperial iradé* will be given him."

This was thrilling news—news that had been waited for and worked for through seven long years. But it seemed in one respect too good to be true. The "iradé" had never been asked for, had never been mentioned as possible. It is given by the Sultan himself. His sacred signature is affixed to it. It is infallible and cannot be changed, and it carries great prestige with it. I went directly to Mr.

Morris and said to him, "What hoax is this now?" He replied, "I don't wonder you think it a hoax but it can't be. You know what is said of Aali Pasha, that he never keeps a verbal promise and never breaks a written one. Here is his note." To my great surprise the whole note was in his hand-writing and bore his signature and seal. It was of the highest official authority.

A profound mystery enveloped the whole business. We were doing nothing. We had never thought of asking for the "iradé." Mr. Morris was perplexed. He could only say that Mr. Seward must have sent through Blacque Bey some very pungent message; but on the other side stood the two leading diplomats of Europe at the Porte,—the French and Russian,—and all the Jesuit and the Catholic powers. The public was perplexed, but I think hugely gratified. It, however, believed there was some hidden and hostile craft in it. Beware of Aali Pasha was often said. He has all the resources of "shaitan" and he will bring you a back-hand stroke that will lay you out some day.

I went immediately to work at the building and had the site covered with stone blasters and ditchers, in view of all moving on the Bosphorus. The change was as amusing as it was gratifying and inexplicable. Men who had long passed me with a stiff neck now gave me the oriental salaam, imagining that the triumph was somehow due to me, but being really as much in the dark as I was, and as far from the truth, as will appear. I had made the English government acquainted with the history of the case and I believed some private communication to Aali Pasha from the Foreign Office had caused the wondrous change. We were all wrong and were guessing in the dark. I however pressed forward the work, and wishing to try the temper of the Grand Vizier I called upon him and asked him for an order giving free passage through the Custom House, without delay, of the iron I should import from

Belgium and England, and the tubular bricks, cement and other articles from France. He received me pleasantly, was glad I would make the structure fire-proof, but my request did not belong to his department. He would, however, speak to Kiani Pasha, the collector of the port, and after two or three days I might have relations with him. I regarded it as a very polite negative, but when I called upon the collector, he had it all most satisfactorily arranged. It was a great boon to the college. There was no hostility here but positive kindness and yet it was all a mystery.

The iradé was given as promised, and the college became an American institution with the right to carry the American flag, which it has done to this day.

When the building was completed externally and before it was occupied, the Grand Vizier sent for me to call at his palace. He received me politely, cordially and said he wanted to congratulate me on having erected a building which was the ornament of the Bosphorus. He had examined our curriculum and he was more than satisfied with it because it involved the fusion of races into some unity, under one discipline, etc., etc. After some further remarks, terse and philosophical, and also complimentary, he rose, offered me again his hand and I retired. It was impossible to regard him otherwise than friendly, but the mystery of it deepened at every step.

The college was publicly opened with some parade, July 4, 1871, by Mr. Seward, on his journey homeward from his voyage and travels round the world. Besides the students, of thirteen nationalities and half as many religions, and the faculty, chosen from six nationalities, there were American citizens and certain Turkish officials. Mr. Seward, with a shattered and half-paralyzed frame, surprised every one by his splendid address. So soon as he opened his mouth he was Seward still. The students received him with immense enthusiasm, and his visit gave a certain national prestige to the college. It did not solve our mystery.

About a month after this, a Turkish gentleman called to see the college. He was a man of no ordinary address and bearing but he was alone, and I did not doubt was a "tepdil" or *incognito*. After examining the college and its *curriculum* with apparent interest and with great intelligence he apologized on leaving for claiming so much of my time, and added: "I think more highly of English education than of any other. I have some little grandsons, and when they are old enough, I intend to send them to this college." I then said to him, "Do you speak English, sir?" He replied, in perfectly good English: "Why yes sir, on occasions but I have had no occasion to speak it here." I wished to see more of him and I invited him to the college tower to survey the scenery spread out before and around it. He assented and was so charmed with the view that he became eloquent in descanting upon it, declaring that no university in Europe, and he had seen many of them, could match this scenery of the Bosphorus and its historic shores. As he turned to go down he said, "Ah, sir, we would never have given you leave to build your college here had it not been for that bloody insurrection in Crete." "That bloody insurrection in Crete!" I exclaimed, in unfeigned surprise, "What pray could that have to do with building this college here?" "O we understood it perfectly well," he replied with a sort of reproving smile. "But you speak enigmas," I said, "I do not understand it." "Have you been so long a resident in Turkey without knowing about that insurrection that for a long time kept us on the very edge of war?" "I knew all about that, sir, it is the connection of the two that I do not understand at all." He evidently doubted my sincerity but proceeded to say: "Why when your great Admiral Farragut was here, that insurrection was our greatest embarrassment, taxing all our skill and power. We would have gladly seen Crete swallowed up in the sea, but to grant her free-

dom would have involved the loss of all our islands, and would have brought on the disintegration of the Empire. Greek delegations surrounded the Admiral and reported that he had promised to pass along the shores of Crete and take off the refugees to Greece, and moreover, that he had assured them that his government would sell them one of its monitors. This gave us just cause of alarm which was increased not a little when the Admiral came to dine with the Sultan's high officers of state. He asked the Grand Vizier, point blank, why that American college could not be built. The Grand Vizier replied in friendly terms and the great Admiral said not a word. But he continued to ask the same question right and left. To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Minister of War, and of the Navy; 'I would like to ask your excellency a question. I would like to know why that American college can't be built.' To all he held the same absolute silence and said not a word. We saw clearly the United States government was holding that college question over against us, and the Admiral was assured that all difficulties were removed and the college would soon be built. But when he rather suddenly left and went straight out by Gibraltar we breathed easily and we had no intention of granting you leave. A few months after, those letters from leading New York papers were sent, translated and in the original. They were very severe and unjust on the Cretan case, but they were written with ability and exact knowledge. We said: there is the finger of the great Admiral in this. His Government is preparing the American people for intervention. If only an American monitor should come into the Mediterranean it would be followed by war with Greece, and (lifting up both hands) war begun with Greece, Allah himself only knows where it would end. And we had been warned that this college question would become a thorny one, and that political complications would finally compel us to grant even more than was asked. We now felt the thorns, we

saw the complications, and we said : 'better build a hundred colleges for the Americans with our own money than to have one of Farragut's monitors come into the Mediterranean.' So we gave you leave to build on this matchless spot. We gave you the imperial iradé, which we never give, and we placed this college under the protection of the United States, as the greatest compliment to your government, and so (spreading both hands in a horizontal motion with a smile of great satisfaction) we smoothed it all off."

The history of the college and the impulse which it has given to education in Turkey have been such that the Sublime Porte has had no reason to regret its wise decision. Great changes have taken place in the education and the intelligence of the people during the past fifty years. Turkey is not the same empire now that she was then. She has suffered from European complications and ambitions; her commerce and industries have been preyed upon by selfish and greedy powers,—but her glorious climate and soil remain; her many natural advantages await the science and the skill of educated labor; and every institution of learning is a valuable addition of power and wealth. Robert College has deserved well of the government, and although it has been voluntarily and generously placed, by the imperial iradé, under the protection of the United States, it is none the less loyal to the best interests of Turkey.

ACTION OF THE COUNCIL.

DEATH OF CHARLES DEANE.

At a special meeting of the Council, held on November 27, 1889, the President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, said :—

I have called a special meeting of the Council of this Society to consider the loss of their beloved associate, Charles Deane, LL.D., of Cambridge, who died in that city November 13th, instant, at the age of seventy-six years and three days. The high position of Dr. Deane as a literary critic, and the exceptional services he has rendered to our Society deserve more than a passing notice. He was elected a member of the Society in October, 1851, and stood sixth on the list in seniority of membership at the time of his death. He was a member of the Committee of Publication in 1856, a member of the Council in 1865, and Secretary of Domestic Correspondence in 1880; all of which offices he held to the close of his life. Three very valuable reports of the Council, upon "The European Discovery of America," upon "Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga in 1777," and upon "The Connection of Massachusetts with the Slave Trade and with Slavery," are from his pen, and remain in our collections as historical data of exceptional merit. Besides these formal papers Dr. Deane has addressed the Society at its meetings on various different subjects, many of which appear as monographs of considerable length; and all of them were prepared with the care and completeness that characterized his literary work. These we have in our publications as a monument to Dr. Deane and to the interest he took in our Society and in its fidelity to its objects.

I would propose for your consideration these statements as embodying the views of the Council :—

In the loss of Charles Deane, LL.D., this Society is deprived of a member whose mind and disposition endeared him to his associates by constant acts of service and courtesy, which his ability and talents rendered the more important and enduring.

We recognize the exceptional honor that we enjoyed in the coöperation and assistance of a writer of such rare and admirable literary taste, and we delight to declare our gratitude for his constant labors in our behalf.

We desire to place on record our opinion that to the untiring vigilance and aid of Dr. Deane much of the increased interest shown by the Society in purely historic research is justly due, and that to him we are especially indebted for a conspicuous example of a conscientious and unprejudiced historical method.

Vice-President HOAR, on moving for the adoption of the memorial, spoke of the very high attainment in history achieved by Dr. Deane, which made him the acknowledged chief and writer in that department of knowledge ; of his readiness to aid others in their studies in that direction ; of the modesty which accompanied his learning ; and of the beauty of his personal character.

Other remarks were made by Messrs. PAINE, CHASE and GRANE, in eulogy of Dr. Deane, and the memorial was unanimously adopted.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

OFFICERS ELECTED OCTOBER, 1889.

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STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

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HON. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

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REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

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REV. ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, LL.D., of Cambridge.

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HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, of Worcester.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A.M., of New Haven, Conn.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.

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HON. JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Conn.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

¹CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

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REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

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CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

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STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

¹ Died November 13, 1889.

*American Antiquarian Society.**Finance Committee.*

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Librarian.

MR. EDMUND MILLS BARTON.

MEMBERS.

JANUARY 1, 1890.

The letter *l* indicates that the member against whose name it is placed has paid a life assessment of fifty dollars.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
<i>l</i> HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, D.C.L.,	Newport, R. I.,	October, 1838.
HON. ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1838.
REV. GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.,	May, 1847.
REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.,	Roxbury, "	October, 1847.
HON. JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	April, 1851.
<i>l</i> HON. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1853.
WILLIAM SUMNER BARTON, A.M.,	" "	" 1854.
JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, LL.D.,	Madison, Wis.,	" 1854.
<i>l</i> HON. JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D.,	Hartford, Conn.,	" 1855.
REV. ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	October, 1856.
GEORGE CHANDLER, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1857.
HON. HORACE GRAY, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1860.
JOHN STRONG NEWBERRY, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1860.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1860.
<i>l</i> EDWARD ELBRIDGE SALISBURY, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	" 1861.
HON. HORACE DAVIS,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1862.
HON. WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, LL.D.,	Salem, Mass.,	October, 1862.
JAMES HENRY SALISBURY, M.D., LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1862.
MR. CHARLES BABCOCK SALISBURY,	Little York, N. Y.,	" 1863.
<i>l</i> STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1863.
MARTIN BREWER ANDERSON, LL.D.,	Rochester, N. Y.,	April, 1864.
HON. PELEG EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	October, 1865.
<i>l</i> HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D.,	Boston, "	" 1865.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D.,	Boston, "	" 1865.
HON. ELIJAH BRIGHAM STODDARD,	Worcester, "	" 1865.
JOHN GEORGE METCALF, M.D.,	Mendon, "	April, 1867.
<i>l</i> REV. GEORGE STURGIS PAINE, A.M.,	Worcester, "	" 1867.
<i>l</i> HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS,	" "	October, 1867.
HON. HORATIO GATES JONES, D.C.L.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1867.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1867.
WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1868.
<i>l</i> HON. CHARLES HENRY BELL, LL.D.,	Exeter, N. H.,	October, 1868.

List of Members.

III

REV. HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D.D.,	New Bedford, Mass.,	April, 1869.
HON. CHARLES COLCOCK JONES, JR., LL.D.,	Augusta, Ga.,	" 1869.
JOHN EDWIN MASON, M.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1869.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL, A.M.,	Charlestown, Mass.,	October, 1869.
REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D.,	Andover, "	April, 1870.
DANIEL GARRISON BRINTON, M.D.,	Media, Pa.,	October, 1870.
MR. ROBERT CLARKE,	Cincinnati, Ohio,	April, 1871.
HON. ISAAC SMUCKER,	Newark, "	" 1871.
HON. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1871.
REV. ROBERT CASSIE WATERSTON, A.M.,	Boston, "	" 1871.
HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D.,	Salem, "	" 1871.
GEORGE WILLIAM CHILDS, A.M.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1872.
BENSON JOHN LOSSING, LL.D.,	Dover Plains, N. Y.,	October, 1872.
THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1874.
HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, A.M.,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1875.
REV. EDWARD HENRY HALL, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1875.
ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M.,	Boston, "	" 1875.
REV. WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, D.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	October, 1875.
I. REV. EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER, A.M.,	Lexington, Mass.,	April, 1876.
EDWARD HITCHCOCK, M.D.,	Amherst, "	" 1876.
REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD, LL.D.,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1876.
CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1876.
FRANCIS AMASA WALKER, LL.D.,	" "	October, 1876.
HON. ALPHONSO TAFT, LL.D.,	Cincinnati, Ohio,	" 1876.
LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL.D.,	Madison, Wis.,	" 1877.
OTHNIEL CHARLES MARSH, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	" 1877.
WILLIAM FREDERIC POOLE, LL.D.,	Chicago, Ill.,	" 1877.
ROBERT ALONZO BROCK, ESQ.,	Richmond, Va.,	" 1877.
JOSEPH JONES, M.D.,	New Orleans, La.,	" 1877.
HON. JAMES VALENTINE CAMPBELL, LL.D.,	Detroit, Mich.,	" 1877.
JOHN THOMAS DOYLE, A.M.,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1878.
THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1878.
HON. HAMILTON BARCLAY STAPLES, LL.D.,	" "	" 1878.
I. MR. EDMUND MILLS BARTON,	" "	October, 1878.
HON. CHARLES DEYVENS, LL.D.,	Boston, "	" 1878.
HON. THOMAS LEVERETT NELSON, LL.D.,	Worcester, "	" 1878.
REV. LUCIUS ROBINSON PAIGE, D.D.,	Cambridge, "	" 1878.
I. FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A.M.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1879.
REV. MOSES COIT TYLER, LL.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.,	" 1879.
PHILIPP JOHN JOSEPH VALENTINI, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1879.
HON. JOHN JAMES BELL,	Exeter, N. H.,	" 1879.
HON. JOSEPH BURBEEN WALKER,	Concord, "	" 1879.
REV. GEORGE PARK FISHER, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	October, 1879.
GEORGE HENRY MOORE, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	April, 1880.
MR. GEORGE P. BRINLEY,	Newington Junc., Conn.,	" 1880.
I. CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1880.
I. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M.,	" "	" 1880.
JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D.,	Cambridge, "	October, 1880.
HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.,	April, 1881.
MR. ADOLPHE F. BANDELIER,	Highland, Ill.,	" 1881.
HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.,	April, 1881.
FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, LL.D.,	Easton, Pa.,	October, 1881.

I. HON. EDWARD ISAAH THOMAS,	Brookline, Mass.,	October, 1881.
I. HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,	Nahant, "	" 1881.
I. GEN. HORATIO ROGERS,	Providence, R. I.,	April, 1882.
REV. STEPHEN DENNISON PEET,	Mendon, Ill.,	" 1882.
JOHN FLETCHER WILLIAMS, S.B.,	St. Paul, Minn.,	" 1882.
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FREDERICK WARD PUTNAM, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1882.
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ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, S.B.,	Cambridge, "	" 1882.
REV. CYRUS HAMLIN, LL.D.,	Lexington, "	" 1883.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, A.B.,	Worcester, "	October, 1883.
REV. CHARLES MARION LAMSON, LL.D.,	St. Johnsbury, Vt.,	" 1883.
HON. HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE,	Lancaster, Mass.,	" 1883.
PROF. JOHN BACH MCMASTER,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	April, 1884.
I. WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M.,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1884.
I. REV. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1884.
HON. ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, LL.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.,	October, 1884.
HENRY ADAMS, A.B.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1884.
JOHN FISKE, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1884.
DANIEL COIT GILMAN, LL.D.,	Baltimore, Md.,	" 1884.
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HENRY WALBRIDGE TAFT, A.M.,	Pittsfield, Mass.,	" 1884.
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JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M.,	Portland, Me.,	April, 1887.
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EDWARD GAY MASON, A.M.,	Chicago, Ill.,	" 1887.
CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.,	" 1887.
AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	April, 1888.
MR. JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN,	Providence, R. I.,	October, 1888.
MR. GEORGE WASHINGTON CABLE,	Northampton, Mass.,	" 1888.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, PH.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1888.
SAMUEL PIERPONT LANGLEY, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1888.
MR. HENRY CHARLES LEA,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1888.
JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B.,	Framingham, Mass.,	" 1888.
HON. MATTHEW PAUL DEADY, LL.D.,	Portland, Oregon,	October, 1889.
WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, A.M.,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1889.
I. HON. ANDREW HASWELL GREEN,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1889.

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v

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NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
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SIR DANIEL WILSON,	Toronto,	" 1861.
GREAT BRITAIN.		
WILLIAM NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq.,	London.	October, 1867.
THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, D.C.L.,	"	" 1869.
JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L.,	Oxford.	April, 1882.
EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN, D.C.L.,	"	" 1865.
JOHN BEDDOE, M.D.,	Bristol,	" 1887.
RT. HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,	London,	October, 1887.
SOUTH AMERICA.		
H. I. M. DOM PEDRO II., EMPEROR OF BRAZIL,		April, 1858.
ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.		
GUILLERMO RAWSON, M.D.,	Buenos Ayres.	April, 1879.
GERMAN EMPIRE.		
JOHANN KARL EDUARD BUSCHMANN, PH.D.,	Berlin.	October, 1870.
THEODOR MOMMSEN, PH.D.,	Berlin,	" 1870.
OTTO KELLER, PH.D.,	Stuttgart.	April, 1875.
HERMANN VON HOLST, PH.D.,	Freiburg,	October, 1882.
GREECE.		
HENRY SCHLIEMANN, LL.D.,	Athens,	April, 1881.
FRANCE.		
PROF. EDOUARD CHEVALIER,	Paris,	October, 1882.
JAMES JACKSON, F.R.G.S.,	"	" 1882.
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DON MARCO XIMINES DE LA ESPADA.	Madrid,	October, 1882.
DON JUSTO ZARAGOZA,	"	" 1882.
MEXICO.		
SEÑOR RODULFO GREGORIO CANTON,	Mérida de Yucatan,	April, 1878.
SEÑOR ANDRES AZNAR PÉREZ.	"	" October, 1879.
SEÑOR ELIGIO ANCONA,	"	" April, 1880.
SEÑOR ALFREDO CHAVERO	Mexico,	" 1881.
SEÑOR JOAQUIN GARCIA ICAZBALCETA,	"	" 1881.
SEÑOR JOAQUIN HÜBBE,	Mérida de Yucatan,	October, 1881.
MR. LOUIS HENRY AYMÉ,	"	" April, 1882.
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MR. EDWARD HERBERT THOMPSON,	Mérida de Yucatan,	" 1887.
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OREGON.

HON. MATTHEW P. DEADY,.....	Portland.
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GEORGE W. CHILDS, A.M.,.....	"
HON. HORATIO G. JONES,.....	"
MR. HENRY C. LEA,.....	"
PROF. JOHN B. McMASTER,.....	"

List of Members.

IX

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MR. JOHN N. BROWN,	Providence.
THOMAS CHASE, LL.D.,	"
WILLIAM E. FOSTER, A.M.,	"
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GEN. HORATIO ROGERS,	"
WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, A.M.,	"

VERMONT.

REV. CHARLES M. LAMSON, D.D.,	St. Johnsbury.
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VIRGINIA.

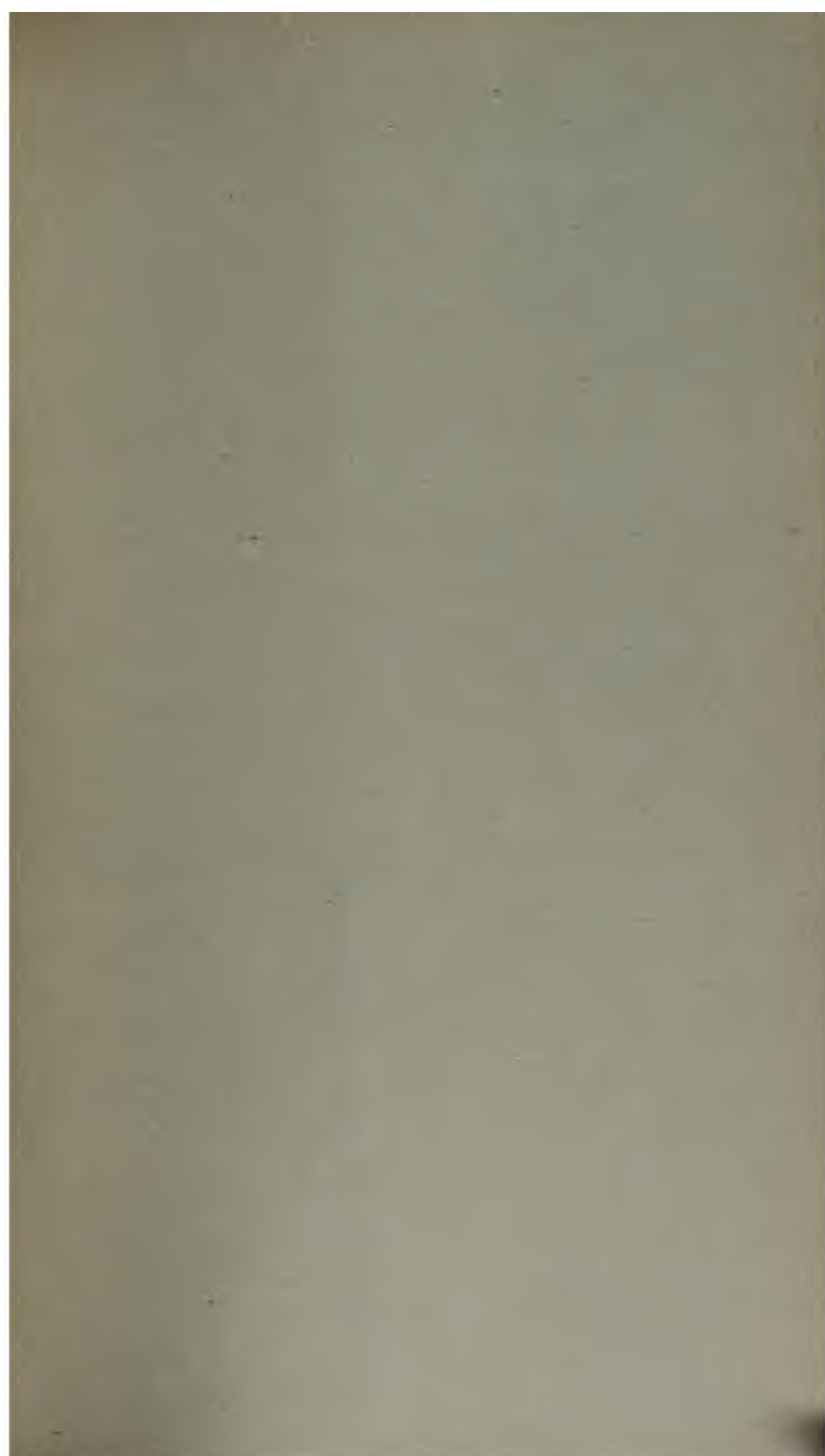
ROBERT A. BROCK, Esq.,	Richmond.
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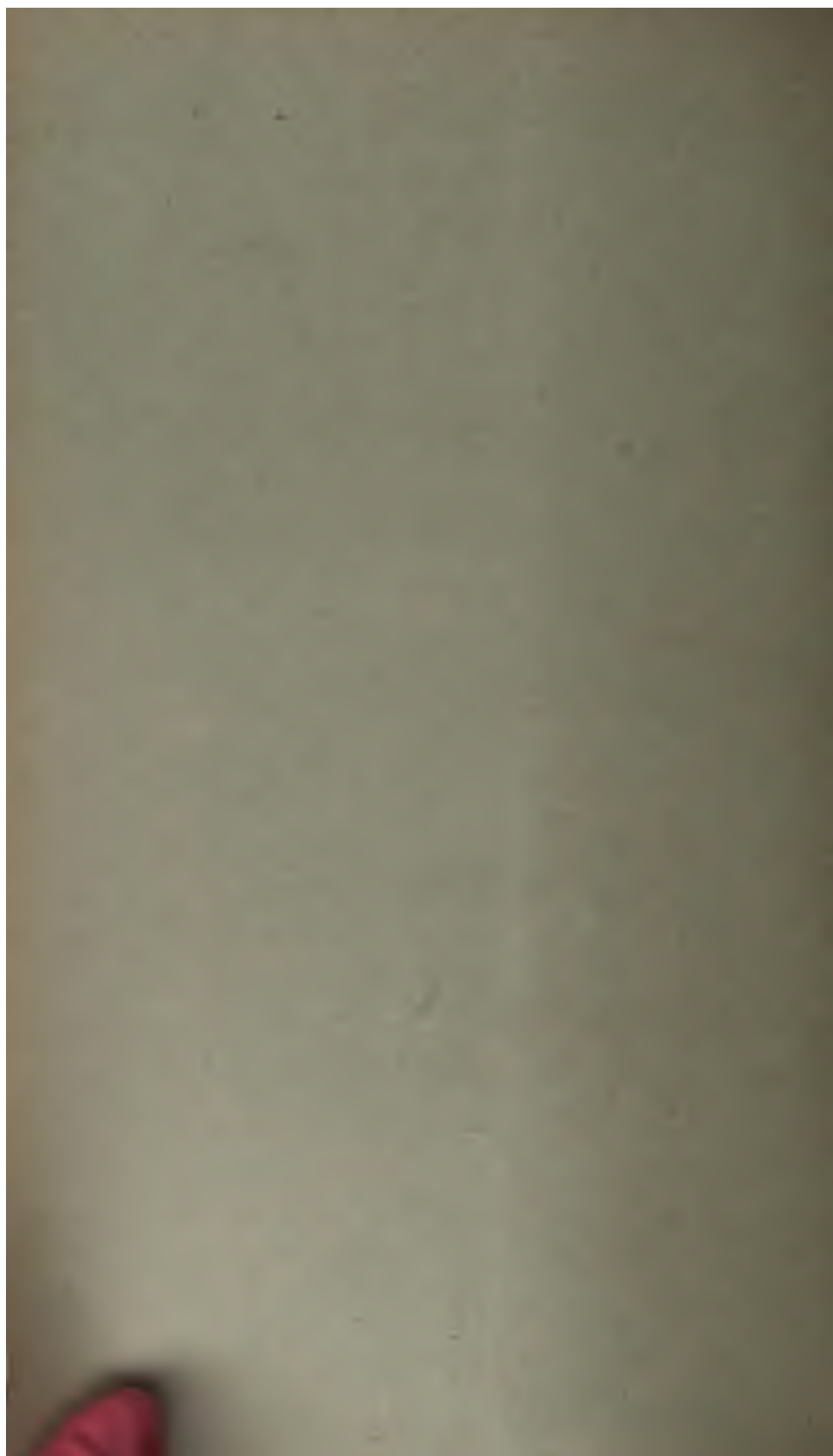
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JAMES D. BUTLER, LL.D.,	Madison.
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VOL. VI.

NEW SERIES.

PART 3.

Horace Davis

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 30, 1890.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.

PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,

311 MAIN STREET.

1890.

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 30, 1890, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership): George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Peabody, Nathaniel Paine, William C. Endicott, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Charles C. Smith, Hamilton B. Staples, Edmund M. Barton, Charles Devens, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, Edward Channing, Frank P. Goulding, A. George Bullock, John N. Brown, William E. Foster.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Charles A. Chase, A.M., was chosen Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., of Worcester, read that portion of the Report of the Council prepared by himself.

The portion of the Report, prepared by Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN (absent in Switzerland as Minister Resident from the United States), was read by Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS.

Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES expressed the hope that Mr. GREENE would add to his notice of Dr. CHARLES DEANE, a bibliography of his writings for the benefit of those members who do not know where to look for them.

The Report of the Treasurer, NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., and the Report of the Librarian, Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, were then presented by those gentlemen

These reports, as together constituting the Report of the Council, were, on motion of Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., said :—" In 1798, the French Directory forced upon the Swiss nation a stronger central government, and Napoleon, also exerted his influence in a somewhat similar direction. But I suppose it is well understood that although this form of government was forced upon Switzerland, the experience of it was found to be so beneficial in some respects that a party was immediately created favoring a strong central government; and we are not surprised, although the old interest in cantonal government as opposed to centralized government came to the front again and was very powerful, that there was a growing interest in favor of a strong central power; and so we are not surprised to find that interest showing itself when the time came to form the constitution of 1848. Mr. Washburn has referred to the work of Adams and Cunningham, published in 1889, which is an admirable popular summary of Swiss institutions. There is also an excellent little book published in our own country, in 1889, by Dr. Moses, Professor of History and Political Economy in the University of California, which describes Swiss institutions minutely, and besides compares them with those of the United States, and also of other federal governments, such as the South American Republics, the republic of Mexico and the empire of Germany. During the present year the Swiss Constitution of 1874 has been published in a very accessible form as one of the pamphlets issued by

the University of Pennsylvania. This gives a translation in full of the Constitution. So also does Old South Leaflet No. 18 which contains, besides, many excellent references illustrative of the Swiss Constitution."

The Council having recommended to the Society for membership—

HANNIS TAYLOR, Esq., of Mobile, Ala.,

HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL, Esq., of Boston, Mass.,

THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, Esq., of Boston, Mass.,

they were, by separate ballot, elected members.

The PRESIDENT called attention to the fact that there is before the public an appeal to erect at Delft Haven a monument to the pilgrims, somewhat smaller than the one at Plymouth, and much less expensive. He stated that an appeal in regard to it had been sent to the Society, and had the endorsement of well-known societies and individuals, and was certainly interesting. He said that another appeal had also come to the Society in regard to erecting a monument by the Buffalo Historical Society, to the distinguished Indian, Red Jacket.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., read a paper, in continuation, upon "Illustrated Americana from 1600 to the present time."

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, said: "I would like to suggest to Mr. HUNNEWELL that it might be worth while as a part of his paper to give a little statement of the artists and engravers of the illustrated edition of Isaiah Thomas's Pulpit Bible, which was printed in 1791. There is a great variety of engravers, a list of whose names is given in O'Callaghan, I think; at least I have seen it in print, and their residence is also given in some cases. Whether they are all Americans or not I do not know; but the engravings are some of them of great merit, and I suppose it was the first book published in this country so elegantly ornamented in the way of engravings. I would also suggest that perhaps it would be well to add some notice of James Earle's prints of the

battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill, which are very valuable indeed for their historical accuracy; and I suppose that Earle's prints furnish as absolute a picture of these events as could be made."

Mr. HUNNEWELL stated that he had omitted a great deal pertaining to the Revolutionary period, considering that as a class by itself, and he or somebody else might have something to say about that branch of the subject at another time.

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER of Lexington read a paper upon "The Aborigines of Australia."

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, Esq., of Cambridge, read a paper upon the "Early College Buildings at Cambridge."

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., read a paper prepared by Dr. FRANZ BOAS of Clark University, at Worcester, being an Analysis of a Prehistoric Skull from Yucatan.

The PRESIDENT read a letter from EDWARD H. THOMPSON, Esq., United States Consul at Mérida, Yucatan, presenting to the Society plaster casts of vases and other articles found by him in Yucatan, or owned by the *Museo Yucateco* at Mérida.

Upon motion of Mr. HOAR, a vote of thanks was passed for the gift of Mr. THOMPSON to the Society.

Senator HOAR said: "I think this is as fitting an opportunity as may occur to call attention to a very serious statement made by Mr. Spencer Walpole, author of the *Life of Lord John Russell* and of the *History of England since 1815*, in regard to Mr. Everett, who was a member of this Society, and whose membership was highly valued. Mr. Walpole, in his *Life of Lord John Russell*, is giving an account of English politics in 1845-46, especially with regard to the Oregon controversy between England and this country, and says: 'The state of Ireland and the relation of this country with the United States, increased the anxiety of the Minister. American statesmen seemed bent on war, and Mr. Everett, the American Minister in London, took the unusual course of appealing from the govern-

ment to the opposition. Lord John sent him the following answer,' Then follows Lord John Russell's letter, dated February 3, 1846, beginning:—'My dear Mr. Everett: I am indebted to you for the clear and able view which you have communicated to me of the controversy now pending between your country and mine.'

"Now, Mr. Everett was the most discreet of men. Nothing would have been more abhorrent to him than to be accused of a diplomatic indiscretion, which would have caused his recall by his own government, or his instant dismissal by the English Government. As this letter of Lord John Russell was dated February 3, 1846, the letter of Mr. Everett to which it was a reply must have been dated about the same time. Now, Mr. Everett took his leave of Her Majesty on the 17th of August, 1845, and I suppose had got home and was considering the question of accepting the Presidency of Harvard College when this letter of Lord Russell was written. It was merely the letter of a patriotic and public-spirited man, seeking to avoid a quarrel between two friendly governments. I may perhaps add that this is a very admirable life of Lord Russell. The controversy growing out of the operations of the 'Alabama' and the other rams, during our civil war, is quite amusing to an American who remembers the history of that time. Lord John himself seems to have owned up pretty well, subsequently, though he complains of the conduct of Gladstone's government at the time to which Walpole refers. He states one fact not known in this country, that the law officer to whom the question of stopping the 'Alabama' was submitted was ill, as one excuse; but even the fidelity and candor of Walpole in giving an account of the final negotiation when the rams were stopped omits the very interesting and pregnant fact that one morning Mr. Adams requested the stoppage of the rams, and that Lord Russell answered that Her Majesty's government had considered that question, and thought they had no authority, and the

case did not furnish one which gave them power to interfere; and Mr. Adams, within an hour, sent his reply, saying that he regretted his Lordship's answer, and added a single sentence, which I consider the most eloquent of any in American history; 'It is superfluous to observe to your Lordship that this is war.'—whereupon the rams were stopped."

On motion of Dr. GREEN, it was voted that the several papers and reports which had been presented be committed to the Committee on Publication; and furthermore that the various extemporaneous remarks by the several gentlemen be committed to paper, and take the same course.

The meeting was then dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council find nothing of special note in the condition of the Society's library or treasury. The interests of each are vigilantly and faithfully cared for by the officers of your selection, in whose conduct the Council find nothing to criticise. The condition of each is set forth in detail in their respective reports, presented herewith as a part of the Report of the Council.

Two of our number have departed this life since our last meeting, each of whom was an eminent scholar, who added much to the sum of historical knowledge accessible to mankind, and therefore deserves to be held in grateful memory by our Society. Charles Deane, member of the Society since 1851, of the Committee of Publication since 1856, of the Council since 1865, and Secretary of Domestic Correspondence since 1880, died at his home in Cambridge, November 13th; and William Francis Allen, a member of our Society since 1888, died at Madison, Wisconsin, on the 9th of December, 1889.

Charles Deane was born at Biddeford, in the then District of Maine, November 10, 1813. He had pursued the studies preparatory to admission to Bowdoin College when the death of an older brother caused a change in his plans, and, at the age of nineteen years, he entered a merchant's office in Boston. The diligence, thoroughness, accuracy and sound judgment which afterward gave him so high a place among historical scholars, were no less serviceable in commercial life. In a few years he became a partner in the house of Waterston, Pray & Company, dealing in dry goods, whose business increased in extent and pros-

perity while he shared in it, so that he was able to retire from active commerce in 1864, with a fortune sufficient for his wants.

He had already become known for his successful pursuit of historical studies, having been chosen a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1849 and of this Society two years later. While occupied with his commercial business, he had found time to be a useful member of each society, contributing to its proceedings the results of his fruitful studies.¹ To these studies the rest of his life was given with such success that all recognized the justice of President Eliot's description in announcing the conferring

¹ See Proceedings of the Society, as indicated in this list, for his Contributions thereto.

COTTON MATHER'S MANUSCRIPTS. p. 46, Oct., 1860.

LOCALITIES ON THE JAMES AND YORK RIVERS, IN VIRGINIA. p. 59, Oct., 1864.

DESCRIPTION OF MAPPE-MONDE OF CABOT. p. 10, Oct., 1865.

SERASTIAN CABOT'S MAPPE-MONDE. p. 40, April, 1867.

RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND. p. 53, April, 1867.

LETTER OF WILLIAM GREEN ON CAPTAIN NEWPORT'S DISCOVERIES IN VIRGINIA, WITH REMARKS. p. 80, April, 1868.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL: European Discovery and Settlement of America. Obituaries: Levi Lincoln, Chandler E. Potter, William Allen, William Reed Staples, Don Manuel Moreno. p. 16, Oct., 1868.

REMARKS ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO. p. 6, Oct., 1871.

BURIAL PLACE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH. p. 20, Oct., 1871.

RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND. p. 49, Oct., 1873.

JOHN VERRAZZANO AND HIS VOYAGES. p. 7, April, 1876.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL: Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga. Obituary: Edmund Quincy. p. 9, Oct., 1877.

REMARKS AND RESOLUTIONS ON THE PRESENTATION OF A PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL F. HAVEN, LIBRARIAN. p. 64, April, 1879.

TRIBUTE TO JAMES LENOX. p. 53, April, 1880.

TRIBUTE TO SAMUEL F. HAVEN. p. 303, Oct., 1881.

REMARKS ON JOHANN SCHÖNER'S "OPUSCULUM GEOGRAPHICUM," WITH EXTRACTS. p. 26, Oct., 1883.

COMMUNICATES THE DOINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY UPON THE DEATH OF STEPHEN SALISBURY. p. 249, Oct., 1884.

TRIBUTE TO STEPHEN SALISBURY. p. 250, Oct., 1884.

REMARKS UPON REV. MANASSEH CUTLER. p. 4, Oct. 1885.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL: The Connection of Massachusetts with the Slave-Trade and with Slavery. Obituaries: John Russell Bartlett, Calvin E. Stowe, Charles Whittlesey. p. 173, Oct., 1886.

the degree of LL.D. by Harvard University, "a master among students of American history."

As our President said in his address to the Council at its special meeting last November, Dr. Deane had been a member of the Society for thirty-eight years, a member of the Committee of Publication for thirty-four years, a member of the Council for twenty-five years, and Secretary of Domestic Correspondence for ten years, and held all these offices until his death. He made three Reports of the Council, each being a paper of great value, an important contribution to historical knowledge which no one having occasion to investigate the subject of which it treats, could afford to neglect. He also contributed to the Proceedings of the Society seventeen other papers marked by the thoroughness of research, sagacity of judgment, and lucidity of style, which made his works of this kind so satisfying to those who take pleasure in the fruits of historical studies. Besides these and other productions of like character, which have been printed as monographs or in the proceedings of other societies with kindred aims, Dr. Deane's chief contribution to American history was his learnedly and judiciously annotated edition of Governor Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," published with the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The manuscript of this history, long supposed to be lost, but at length discovered in the library of the Bishop of London, was carefully transcribed for Dr. Deane, who edited it for the Historical Society, with such mastery of all the existing material bearing upon the subject as no one else could have equalled. He also wrote two important chapters of that great work, "The Narrative and Critical History of America," in the progress of which its learned editor, our associate, Dr. Winsor, says: "He was constantly my adviser, and in some sections his judgment was compelling."

Among Dr. Deane's services to historical literature may well be reckoned the gathering of his large and peculiarly

choice library, rich in material not readily accessible elsewhere, the instrument of his studies and the delight of his leisure, and always at the service of his friends.

Of the members of this Society at the time of his death, only five were his seniors in membership. Few were so constant in attendance at its meetings, and the prepared papers or impromptu remarks of no member were heard with more respect or carried with them a greater weight of authority. Dr. Deane, perhaps, made mistakes, sharing the fallibility of human nature, but I do not know that any matured conclusion of his—and he announced no others—on a historical question was ever successfully assailed. His services to this Society and to historical literature were not only those of an investigator, editor and author; he was invaluable as an adviser and a critic. He could and did gladly direct inquirers to the best sources of information, and was patient and helpful with unpracticed students, who had yet to learn where to find the materials and how to handle the implements of their craft. It was disconcerting sometimes for such students engaged in a special quest to discover that the ground which they had supposed untrodden was as familiar to Dr. Deane as his own garden path, and that he had in his wonderfully retentive memory and instantly producible, with names, dates and authorities, more facts concerning their special subjects than they had obtained by weeks of diligent research.

To his vigilant scrutiny as a member of its Publication Committee for thirty-four years the Society is largely indebted for the high standard of accuracy in statement and typography of its published Proceedings.

Dr. Deane's own style, wholly destitute of rhetorical ornament, has the elegance of lucidity, directness and precision. It is the perfect instrument of his purpose, which was not display or persuasion, but information and conviction. In the pursuit of historical truth he was without bias of preconceived opinion or personal prejudice. He sought

exhaustively for the truth, so that nothing remained for future inquirers to glean on the ground which he had passed over, and produced what he found, giving each fact and circumstance its due weight in forming his conclusions. Absolute loyalty to the truth so manifestly pervaded and informed all his work that no reader could doubt his good faith or fail to recognize the clarity of vision and sureness of judgment which attend perfect sincerity of purpose.

Of Dr. Deane's personal life and his relations with his friends it would not become me to speak, for my acquaintance with him was slight and of but few years' standing, but I venture to quote here the words of our associate, the Rev. Dr. Ellis, in his appropriate and beautiful address as president of the Massachusetts Historical Society: "Manliness, sincerity, dignity and an ever-gentle courtesy, showed what his spirit was."

William Francis Allen, was born at Northborough, Massachusetts, September 5, 1830. He was the youngest son of the Rev. Joseph Allen, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Northborough for fifty-six years, and Lucy Clark Ware. He was educated at the Roxbury Latin School and at Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1851. In 1854 he went to Europe, studied at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen, spent some time in Rome, travelled in Italy and Greece and returned to America in 1856. He then taught for some years at West Newton. For two years from 1863 he was variously occupied with philanthropic work at the South. During this time he organized and superintended the schools for colored people in South Carolina, and, with Charles P. Ware and Miss Lucy McKim, collected from the lips of the negroes the words and music of their songs, which were afterwards published with the title "Slave Songs of the United States." In 1865 he became professor of ancient languages in Antioch College, Ohio. In 1867 he

was called to the chair of ancient languages and history in the University of Wisconsin, and retained his connection with the University throughout the rest of his life, though the title of his professorship was changed in 1870 to Latin and history, and in 1886 to history. His learning and industry gave him distinguished success as an instructor, and his modesty, friendliness and charm of manner, the expression of a sincere, earnest and noble soul, endeared him alike to his associates and his pupils.

Professor Allen was for many years a constant contributor of reviews and other articles to the *Nation*. He edited alone or in association with others, the texts of several Latin authors and class-books for schools and colleges. He wrote on social, political, and historical topics for the *North American Review* under its earlier management, the *Christian Examiner* and other periodicals, reported for several years for the *Revue Historique* the results of investigations in American history, delivered a course of lectures at Johns Hopkins University on the History of the Fourteenth Century, and read valuable papers before the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. His last literary work, of which he finished reading the proofs on the day before his death, is entitled, "A Brief History of the Roman People," and was designed as a text-book for high schools.

Although in the brief term of his membership with us Professor Allen had contributed nothing to our Proceedings, we recognize him as an associate in whose labors and achievements in the field of historical study, we may take a just satisfaction.

For the Council.

J. EVARTS GREENE.

FOUNDATION OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC.

BY JOHN D. WASHBURN.

COPY OF THE LATIN "PACT OF 1291" IN THE
ARCHIVES OF SCHWYZ.

IN nomine domini Amen. Honestati consulitur, et vtilitati publice prouidetur, dum pacta, quietis et pacis statu debito solidantur. Noverint igitur vniversi, quod homines vallis Vranie, vniversitasque | vallis de Switz, ac communitas hominum intramontanorum vallis inferioris, maliciam temporis attendentes, ut se, et sua magis defendere valeant, et in statu debito melius conservare, fide | bona promiserunt, inuicem sibi assistere, auxilio, consilio, quolibet ac fauore personis et rebus, infra valles et extra, toto posse, toto nlsv, contra omnes ac singulos, qui eis vel alicui de ipsis, aliquam | intulerint violenciam, molestiam, aut iniuriam, in personis et rebus malum quodlibet machinando, ac in omnem eventum quelibet vniuersitas, promisit alteri accurrere, cum neccesse fuerit ad succurrendum. | et in expensis propriis, prout opus fuerit, contra inpetus malignorum resistere, iniurias vindicare prestito super hiis corporaliter iuramento, absque dolo servandis, antequam confederationis formam iuramento vallatam, presentibus innovando, | Ita tamen, quod quilibet homo iuxta sui nominis conditionem domino suo conuenienter subesse teneatur et seruire. Communi etiam consilio, et fauore vnanimi promissimus, statuimus. ac ordinauimus, vt in vallibus prenotatis, nullum | iudicem, qui ipsum officium aliquo precio, vel pecunia, aliqualiter comparauerit, vel qui noster incola vel provincialis non fuerit aliquatenus accipiamus, vel acceptemus.

Si vero dissensio suborta fuerit, inter aliquos conspiratos, prudencio— | res de conspiratis accedere debent, ad sopiendam discordiam inter partes, prout ipsis videbitur expedire. et que pars illam respuerit ordinationem, alii contrarii deberent fore conspirati. Super omnia autem, inter ipsos extitit | statutum, ut qui alium fraudulenter, et sine culpa trucidauerit, si deprehensus fuerit uitam ammittat, nisi suam de dicto maleficio valeat ostendere innocentiam, suis nefandis culpis exigentibus. et si | forsan discesserit, nunquam remeare debet. Receptatores et defensores prefati malefactoris, a vallibus segregandi sunt, donec a coniuratis prouide reuocentur. Si quis vero quemquam de conspiratis, die sev | nocte silentio, fraudulenter per incendium uastauerit, is numquam haberi debet pro conprovinciali. Et si quis dictum malefactorem foveat et defendit, infra valles, satisfactionem prestare debet dampnificato. Ad | hec si quis de coniuratis alium rebus spoliauerit, vel dampnificauerit qualitercumque, si res nocentis infra valles possunt reperiri, seruari debent, ad procurandam secundum iusticiam lesis satisfactionem. Insuper nullus capere | debet pignus alterius nisi sit manifeste debitor. vel fidelissor, et hoc tantum fieri debet de licencia sui iudicis speciali. Preter hec quilibet obedire debet suo iudici, et ipsum si neccesse fuerit iudicem ostendere infra | sub quo parere potius debeat iuri. Et si quis iudicio rebellis extiterit, ac de ipsius pertinacia quis de conspiratis dampnificatus fuerit, predictum contumacem ad prestandam satisfactionem,

iurati compellere tenentur | universi. Si uero guerra vel discordia inter aliquos de conspiratis suborta fuerit, si pars vna litigantium, iusticie vel satisfactionis non curat recipere complementum, reliquam defendere tenentur coniarati. Supra | scriptis statutis, pro communi vtilitate, salubriter ordinatis, concedente domino, in perpetuum duraturis. In cuius facti euidenciam presens instrumentum, ad petitionem predictorum confectum, Sigillorum prefatarum | trium vniuersitatum et vallium est munimine roboratum. Actum Anno domini. M. CC. LXXX. primo. Incipiente mense Au—gu—sto.

The foregoing is an exact copy of the original pact, still preserved, in perfect order and condition in the archives of Schwyz. By permission of the State and municipal authorities a photographic fac-simile of this most remarkable document, which rivals in historic interest the Declaration of Independence and *Magna Charta*, will be made during the coming summer, and transmitted to this Society for preservation in the Library, or, if it can be so arranged, for publication with the Proceedings. Up to the present time, no reproduction of this pact has ever been made.

Although Schwyz is a place of exceptional historic importance, and easy of access, it is seldom visited by Americans or English. The Archives are of peculiar interest, and the place is "beautiful for situation." The people are cordial and obliging, though it need hardly be stated that English is not the vernacular there.

THE writer of a brief and sensible article in one of the leading American periodicals,¹ brings to especial notice the valuable work on the Swiss Confederation, published last year in London, the result of the joint labors of Sir Francis O. Adams, for many years Her Britannic Majesty's Minister to Switzerland, and Mr. Carus D. Cunningham, an accomplished historical scholar, peculiarly qualified for this work by his great personal familiarity with the country of which he writes, an Alpine climber of the first rank, and a careful student of statistics, of manners and of men. An interesting chapter, wherein is instituted a comparison between the constitution of Switzerland and that of the United States, was prepared in consultation with the Honorable Boyd Winchester, of Kentucky, lately the able and faithful minister of the United States in Switzerland. Let it be added in passing, that this book, accessible to and valued as it already is by English readers, has been translated into

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1890.

the French language by Mr. Henri Loumyer, the accomplished secretary and counsellor of the Belgian Legation at Berne, and just published at Basle. This translation is rendered still more valuable by a brief introduction written by His Excellency Louis Ruchonnet, the President of the Swiss Confederation.

The writer of the article above referred to, after stating the fact that "the mechanism and spirit of the institutions of Switzerland have not been hitherto much studied either in England or America," says, "Students of other institutions have long deplored this neglect, which has left the smallest free commonwealth of Europe almost unknown in the oldest, and the oldest federal republic in the world unknown to the greatest: which amounts almost to contempt for a very valuable stock of political experience."

That Switzerland is the smallest free commonwealth of Europe, and England the oldest, may probably, with slight additional phrases of explanation, and unimportant exceptions, be true; that the greatest federal republic in the world is the United States of America, it would not be becoming to question here; that Switzerland is the oldest federal republic in the world is an opinion commonly held, certainly by the "general public," and accepted, apparently by many students of history. Into the merit of this opinion, and the foundations on which it rests, it is proposed at this time briefly to inquire.

To some brief observations, also, on two incidents, separated by the space of nearly six centuries, the foundation of Switzerland and the character of that foundation on the one hand, and the latest international question to which the Swiss Confederation as now organized has attracted the attention of the world, on the other, the writer of this report feels warranted, having looked at them from a convenient point of view, in asking the indulgent ear of the Society. The subject is germane to our studies. These institutions closely resemble, in some respects are modelled

on, our own. The historical parallels are, as will appear, striking and interesting. Questions of international as well as those of domestic or municipal law are fairly within the purview of an Association, whose motto suggests an immortal energy of inquiry, and the guiding principle of whose studies is that of the *Heautontimoroumenos*: "*humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

The first branch of the subject now to be considered, relates to the foundation or substructure of the present Swiss Republic, and to the true historic date of its establishment as the "oldest federal republic in the world," with the view of illustrating the difference between a declaration of modified independence and league for mutual protection on the one hand, and the institution of a federal, free and autonomic government on the other.

The foundation stone on which it is generally understood that the whole superstructure rests is known as the Pact, —Letter of Alliance,—*Bundesbrief*, of 1291. Some reasonable historic doubts exist as to the place where this fundamental compact was signed, which will be considered in an appendix to this report. It is hard to read dates or assign localities with absolute exactness in the *claro-securo* of the later middle ages. The period was full of picturesque figures, but they have been dimly painted: the outlines are shadowy, and the canvas is very old. The form of Rodolph of Hapsburg, a towering and portentous figure is described. He dies, and a season of anarchy and confusion succeeds. The systems of government, authority, dependency and subordination are by no means well understood in general, though they are often described in terms of absolute definiteness and precision. The nature of the relations of what is now Switzerland to the empire of the German Emperors, and to the various states of secular feudal lords. Some of the details of the history of the *Waldstätten* are given, but the uncertainty of the date of the confederation is not given, but of the ac-

cession of Albert of Austria, in view, also, of certain present inconveniences and oppressions, did draw up a declaration, the substance of which, and, as is believed, its exact phraseology, is preserved, and whose date is assigned as August 1, 1291.

This is not a myth, but apart, perhaps, from absolute exactness of date, and some extraneous circumstances alleged to attend it, a well-established record of history.¹ Two copies of it, probably contemporaneous, are still preserved, one in Latin, in the archives of Schwytz, which accompanies this report, the other in German, in the archives of Stanz. That the nature of the declaration may be clearly understood, as it might not readily be in the antiquated German, and peculiar Latin construction, a translation into the French language, made by an excellent local authority, is here submitted.

“Faisons savoir à chacun que les hommes de la vallée d’Uri, que la communauté de Schwytz, qu’en outre les hommes des montagnes d’Unterwalden, en considération des temps mauvais, ont conclu en toute confiance une alliance, et ont juré de se prêter au de hors des vallées comme au dedans mutuellement aide, à leur risques et périls en déployant toute force et toute énergie, en sacrifient tous biens et gens, pour repousser ceux qui voudraient leur faire violence ou faire violence à l’un d’eux : telle est l’ancienne alliance.

“Quiconque a un supérieur lui doit obéissance par devoir. Nous sommes tombés d’accord de n’accepter dans ces vallées aucun juge qui ne soit ne combourgeois ni habitant, ou qui ait acheté son emploi. C’est l’homme plus sage qui doit trancher toute querelle éclatant parmi les confédérés et si quelq’un repousse le sentence, les autres le contraindront à l’accepter. Quiconque tue sciemment ou par surprise sera exécuté pour cette impiété, et quiconque protège le meurtrier doit être banni. Quiconque met le feu à une maison ne

¹ There seems no real reason to doubt the date. It appears on the Latin copy of the Pact which accompanies this report, and it must be considered that the historic doubts relate only to the place where the agreement was signed.

sera plus tenu pour un combourgeois et quiconque lui donne asile devra réparer le dommage. Il sera pris, pour compenser le mal, sur les biens, s'il en a chez nous, de celui qui nuit et pille.

"Nul ne doit opérer une saisie sans l'aide du juge, et la saisie ne doit jamais s'adresser à celui qui n'est pas débiteur ou n'est pas garant. Chacun doit obéissance à un juge des vallées, sinon, nous, les confédérés obligeront le récalcitrant à réparer les conséquences dommageables de son opiniâtreté. Et si dans un différend une partie des alliés ne veulent pas se conformer au droit, les autres les y contraindre. Ces ordonnances, édictées pour notre bien général seront, Dieu le voulant, éternelles."

This instrument well repays a careful study, not only as a wonderfully bold declaration of modified independence, at a very early day, but as especially interesting to the American student, for the remarkable parallels of thought in the minds of these ancient men, and in the minds of those who nearly five hundred years later, made the preliminary declarations of American Independence. As is well observed by Gaullier, "les confédérés n'attaquaient pas directement les droits du chef de l'empire, ils se proposaient seulement de diminuer le pouvoir despotique des avoués, dont plusieurs empereurs même avaient blâmé les exactions." The office and duties of the judge (ammam) were not, at that early day, identical with those of our colonial times, though they perhaps resembled them as closely as those of any of the officials of that day did those of the successors to the same title five hundred years later, but they declared that *they would not tolerate any judge who did not live among them as a fellow citizen, or who had bought his office*, while at the same time they declared *their allegiance to the sovereign*.

So the men of Lancaster, in their town meeting in January, 1773, took into consideration "the dangerous condition of our Publick affaiers in Perticular the Independancy of our Superior Judges," and in May of the same year, resolved

“That the absolute Dependancy of the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province upon the Crown for their support, would, if it should ever take place have the strongest tendency to bias the Minds of the Judges and would weaken our Confidence in them.”

So too, the men of Lexington, in town meeting, January, 1772, said, “But not enough that the right of taxation is violated, but the right of determining the merit and services of those that are employed in government must be yielded, too—Particularly we have reason to think this to be the fact with respect to the Judges of the Supreme Court, the highest court of justice in the Province, the court upon the decisions and determinations of which, all our interests respecting property, liberty or life do chiefly or ultimately depend.”

The Plymouth Convention, September, 1774, resolved, “That the judges, justices, sheriffs and other civil officers in this province who are appointed to their several offices agreeably to the *laws* and *charters* of the same, and refuse to act in conformity to the acts of parliament, or to assist the administration in the execution of them, are the only proper persons who are entitled to the obedience of the people.”

See also similar declarations by the Suffolk Convention, Middlesex Convention, Essex Convention in 1774, the Letters of the Massachusetts House of Representatives to Dennis De Berdt, Esq. and others in 1768, Governor Hutchinson's letter to Lord Dartmouth, October 23, 1772, and Assembly's letter to same, June 29, 1773. See also, Almon, *passim*. Also as especially illustrative of the same sentiment, the “Refusal of Grand Jurors to be sworn, Boston, Aug. 30, 1774.” In an appendix to this report, a few other citations appear, in continuance of this parallel, familiar indeed to the student of American history, and by no means difficult of access, yet peculiarly interesting in the present connection. Like the men who laid the foun-

dation of Swiss Independence, at the close of the Thirteenth century, the Fathers of American Independence denounce as their first and most direct of grievances, *judicial officers, non-resident, dependent on external support and influence, or who had corruptly obtained their place of authority.*

Even more interesting is the comparison of the views and expressions of the early Swiss patriots, with those of the founders of the American Republic, in reference to their relations to the ultimate sovereign. Both declared their loyalty to the head of the State, while denouncing the abuses from which they were suffering at the hands of the officers or appointees of that head. There were, indeed, in the avowals of each country, the germs, or seeds, of full independence. In Switzerland, hemmed in by neighboring despotisms, and oppressed by local tyrannies, centuries were needed for their full development. In America, remote from the domain of absolutism and under the impulse of circumstances, too familiar to justify their presentation in detail or summary at this time, years only were needed to convert the expressions of earnest and devout loyalty to the Crown, into the resolute and defiant declamations of 1776. In Switzerland, generation after generation passed, phase followed phase of alliance and mutual protection, century handed down to century the unfinished work of achieving full and autonomic independence, the incomplete aspiration even. In America, the very same generation which gave utterance to the "present discontents," found themselves the possessors and administrators of a "federal Republic." To cite a few of the declarations, contemporaneous almost, of some of the revolutionary fathers, and also of those of the Swiss leagues made at intervals of decades and centuries, may serve to make more manifest the likeness and unlikeness of their declarations, and also to throw some light on the question of the actual date of birth of the Swiss Republic. The recognition of the principles of freedom is not necessarily a declaration of independence. Those princi-

ples, some of them at least, were avowed in Schwytz and Uri before Columbus had dreamed his first dream. Thus Freeman, in his "Norman Conquest," says, "Our Parliament is the true and lawful representative, by true and lawful succession, of the ancient 'Meeting of the Wise': but if we would search out the origin and constitution of that 'Meeting of the Wise,' we must go to the *Landsgemeinden* of Schwytz and Uri." But the *Landsgemeinden* — (were they the legitimate successors, in conduct and procedure, of those spoken of in the *Germania* of Tacitus, *q. v.*?) — the assembly of all the people of the canton, the prototype on a large scale of the New England Town meeting, while it passed on all questions falling within its jurisdiction, was not, by the mere fact of its existence, proof of general autonomy, or of any system of federal association. It was the out-cropping, so to phrase it, of the view of liberty, proof absolute that the spirit was there, but embodied no complete symmetrical form.

The men of Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden said, in their declaration of 1291, "*Quiconque a un supérieur lui doit obéissance par devoir.*"¹ In 1768(?) the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in their letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, said, "This house, my Lord, have the honour to join with you in sentiment: and they speak the language of their constituents. So sensible are they of their happiness and safety, in their union with, and dependence upon, the mother country, that they would by no means be inclined to accept of an independency if offered them." In 1315, the men of the same three Swiss cantons, after the victory of Morgarten ("*cette mémorable journée, qui ne le cède en rien à celle de Marathon*"), renewed their alliance in a declaration which is considered by some of the highest local authorities as being, rather than that of 1291, the true

¹ "*Chacun de nous qui à un seigneur sera tenu de lui montrer de l'obéissance, et de la servir conformément à sa condition et à son devoir.*"—[*Mag-nenat, traduction.*]

foundation stone of the Swiss Republic. Certainly they take one step farther toward the ultimate goal of independence, when they say that whoever has a "seigneur" ought to obey him, in all things just and legitimate, but never against his confederates.

The convention of the people of Middlesex, August, 1774, said, "As true and loyal subjects of our gracious Sovereign George the Third, King of Great Britain, we by no means intend to withdraw our allegiance from him: but while permitted the free exercise of our natural and charter rights, are resolved to expend life and treasure in his service." In like manner the other County Conventions of Massachusetts expressed themselves; and the County Conventions of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Delaware and Georgia, and notably, the great mass meeting (*Lands-gemeinde*) of the people of South Carolina, prefaced their resolutions with an earnest declaration of allegiance to King George.

In 1323, by a declaration still preserved in the archives of Obwalden, these states renewed their declaration of homage to the Emperor, with this reserved right, that their subordination to the empire should be direct, without the power of transfer (*"être jamais aliéné"*), and that they should have only their own citizens for judges (or *landamannen*). So also, in the act of union or allegiance between the three original "confederates" and Lucerne, in 1332, Lucerne reserved the right and jurisdiction of the Dukes of Austria, and the three others those of the empire.—[*Archives of Gersan and Niewalden.*] And when the alliance was made between these four states and Zurich, in 1351, like reservation was made of the rights of the King and of the holy Roman Empire.—[*Archives of Zurich.*]

Nor does any desire of independence of the ultimate sovereign appear in the alliance of Zug or Glarus in 1352 [*Archives of Zug for Zug, Archives of Zurich for Glarus*], or in that of Berne with the three original states, on March

6th, 1353. [*State Archives of Bern*].¹ More than half a century had thus already passed, and the seeds of independence had not germinated, still less borne flower or fruit. Long years of confusion and anarchy were to follow, when all ideas of independence were held in complete abeyance. For America, on the other hand, five centuries later, growth was rapid. The Provincial Congress did (no doubt truly) say, in October, 1774, that "notwithstanding the province has not the most distant design of attacking, annoying or molesting his majesty's troops aforesaid, but on the other hand will consider and treat every attempt of the kind, as well as all measures tending to prevent a reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies as the highest degree of enmity to the province, nevertheless, there is great reason, from the consideration aforesaid, to be apprehensive of the most fatal consequences" * * * * * and yet within two years, the tree of independence was in flower, and has been bearing fruit for a hundred years. Yet a hundred years was but a moderate fraction of the period of incubation of Swiss Independence. When, then, may it be fairly considered to have been achieved, and how really ancient in date is the (generally so called) "oldest federal republic of the world"?

The various acts of alliance, to which reference has already been made, and which may be said to have been in some sense the bond of union between eight states, did not, as has been shown, assert, much less establish, a claim to independence; nor, as is entirely clear on inspection of the original documents, which are relied upon for these inferences and conclusions, did they create a confederation regulated by a real federal pact. There was no homogeneousness, no claim to autonomy of any form. The pact of 1291, or if that is less clearly verified, that of Brunnen, in 1315, was between three states (*Waldstätten*): these *three* states

¹ On the general condition of their archives, the character, etc. of original documents, etc., etc., the results of personal examination, see appendix.

made alliance with Lucerne; these *four* with Zurich; these *five* with Glaris and Zug; and finally, the *first three* with Bern. This constituted the entire organization of the Confederacy for one hundred and twenty-eight years,—no federal government, no central controlling power,—wars and fightings of one state with another, of one or more states with outside powers. It would be impossible, useless too, to attempt any detailed account of the events of this long and dreary period. The sovereignty of the empire not being questioned, these events show discord, feuds, violations of the terms of alliance, alienations, a fierce and tameless spirit of liberty, not fully protected nor fully restrained by law, certainly no semblance of a federal republic, before 1481.

In this year, counted as a new era in Swiss history, the number of the "Confederates" grew to thirteen. The Confederation, limited as were its objects and range, which had been shaken almost to pieces by quarrels over the distribution of booty taken in the battles with Charles the Bold, by rivalries, jealousies, mutual dislikes, even hatreds of town and country, was patched and strengthened by the Convention of Stanz. The number of states remained thirteen till the Nineteenth Century began. But it is important to bear in mind that these were after all, mere *alliances*, more or less complete, of varying and in many instances of more than a doubtful obligation. There was nothing really approving a Federal Constitution. There were "Diets," assemblies meeting from time to time at the invitation of some leading state or states, but they had little authority. The nations were sovereign, their sovereign deputies could only act on the instructions of their local constituencies; the Federal Union was only a sentiment.

The union of these twelve Swiss and the oldest Federal States, and the various alliances, during the existence of a century, did not bring about a revolution, which could not have been expressed, what we now call Socialism

might be arrayed against it, with the idea of an *organized federal republic*, the best modern illustration of the embodiment of that spirit in its most effective form. It is one of the wonders of history that freedom should have survived all these shocks, that it did not degenerate into a license and excess, the only remedy for which should have been the man on horseback. Although there was no complete semblance of organization as a Federal Republic till 1798, yet it may be truly claimed and admitted that institutions republican in their nature, existed here and there and for greater or less periods of time, local in their scope, as for example, the *Landsgemeinden*. These, varying in their object and scope, helped keep alive the spirit of liberty, during a period in which the dim light of doubtful chronicle lets us see little that could stimulate the hope of eventual, enlightened, effective self-government by the people. The Fifteenth Century was one of strife and internecine bloodshed. The spirit of liberty did not die, nor was valor equal to that of the founders wanting, but it is the testimony of the Swiss historians, that this century was one of unjust conquests, of the longest and most cruel civil wars, the century "où la vénalité et les autres misères des services étrangers pénètrent la Confédération comme un ver rougeur."

The Sixteenth Century, era of the Reformation, brought not peace but a sword. Of the Seventeenth Century, no better summarized description can be given than in the graphic words of *Maguenat*.

"Le XVII^{ème} siècle va nous montrer les confédérés toujours plus divisés, le lien fédéral complètement rompu : la mine de la patrie commune semble imminente, parceque les Suisses ont trop oublié la devise de leurs pères ; 'Un pour tous, tous pour un ;' et, si cette patrie ne succombe pas, ce n'est point à ses enfants qu'elle le doit, mais à la protection du Dieu qui avait guidé et soutenu les vieux Confédérés au Morgarten et à Sempach." In the Seventeenth Century the

titular independence of Switzerland was proclaimed, guaranteed, and its neutrality established by the Treaties of Westphalia at the close of the Thirty Years War, in 1648.

The Eighteenth Century was marked as the era of foreign interventions, culminating in the establishment of the republic, at the instance and under the influence and intervention of France.¹ Of the character of this government, the words of Messrs. Adams and Cunningham give a forcible description: "The establishment of the Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible *was the first attempt at a Constitution* and the fourth phase of the Confederation. It was imposed upon Switzerland by foreign pressure, and offended against all the traditions of that country: the Cantons, from sovereign states became nothing more than Prefectures, or simple administrative districts." The first three centuries and a half after the Pact were not years of even asserted Independence: from the Peace of Westphalia to 1798 were one hundred and fifty years of independent cantonal sovereignty and alliance more or less complete, but no organized constitution or federal system; and the theory of the Helvetic Republic, forced by arms and influence from abroad, on an unwilling people was subversive of the federal principle. When, then, was the federal Republic established? The Act of Mediation in 1803 was an approximation, but it was still the application of an outside power, and Napoleon has not been considered the Father of Republican ideas: nor yet was this establishment completed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. These last may be regarded as "essays towards" establishment, yet for all these essays, up to the beginning of the Eighteenth century, and for some years after, republican government (even republican *ideas* of government) in Switzerland, may be said, in the

¹ See Vulliamin "Histoire de la Confédération Suisse," Vol. II. (cited by Prof. Dicey in Edinburgh Review of January, 1890, article—"Democracy in Switzerland") for some account of the condition of that country during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

language of Burke, to have been "rather in its causes than formed." If the close observer may think he discerns that through all those "ages one increasing purpose runs," the literal historian will be compelled to admit that the fulfilment of that purpose, the establishment of an organized federal republic in Switzerland, was accomplished only on the 12th of September, 1848. The light of freedom, whether under the figure of torch, candle or fire, kindled among these mountains in the Thirteenth century, burned through all those centuries as a vestal flame. This proposition must, in justice to these successive generations, be always conceded. This persistent, continuous flame began to glow two centuries before the discovery of America, and is burning still, more brightly if possible, than ever; but the "oldest federal republic in the world" is, in the personal judgment of the writer of this report, junior to the "greatest federal republic of the world," by something more than half a century.¹

For an appendix to this report, it is proposed to make somewhat more detailed reference to several of these intermediate steps, especially those taken under foreign influence. The Constitution of 1848 ought to be carefully studied. That its authors had studied that of the United States of America with great care is most obvious. That it is in any respect a servile imitation of that instrument no intelligent critic would for a moment claim. As modified, in 1874, with sundry amendments since, it is the organic law of a truly federal republic.

The two legislative branches of the Assembly are well understood in America. The organization of the Council is peculiar, as closely resembling neither the English Ministry nor the American Cabinet. It may be briefly explained. It consists of seven members, each the head of a Depart-

¹ These views as to the proper "age" to be accorded to the Federal Republic of Switzerland are not announced as historical dogma, but submitted as on the whole the reasonable finding, on the undisputed facts.

ment. The members are chosen by the two houses of Assembly, by joint ballot. They are elected for three years, eligible for re-election without limit, and are usually re-elected. The President of the Confederation is the chairman of the Council, chosen to this position by the Assembly, for a single year. As *President*, he has no enlarged functions, beyond the chairmanship of the Council. The members hold absolutely for three years, have the right to speak in either house, though not to vote, and cannot be turned out of office by votes of want of confidence. They are regarded as business agents of the people, laboring very hard for extremely moderate compensation, and are not considered as the agents of any party, or answerable, morally or politically, to party chiefs. The Council is responsible for the conduct of the whole Federal Administration, but that is not a responsibility on which their continuance in office depends, nor can they dissolve the legislative body which elected them. The system is unique, and depends for its success very largely on the character of its administration. While men of the ability and character of those just named can be found to devote all their great ability, for every working day of the year, to the service of the State, at an annual salary of from \$2,000 to \$2,400, the system will deserve all that is said of it by the most favorable commentators; and when such men can no longer be found, the commendation will undoubtedly need to be modified. This will certainly be the case, even though it be not claimed that, "for forms of government" as Mr. Pope alleges, "that which is best administered is [necessarily] best."

The *Landsgemeinde*, or Mass Meeting of all the voters, still retained in three or four cantons, abolished elsewhere, presents a curious object for the contemplation of the studious. As indicated by Mr. Freeman, it may well be considered the prototype of "The Meeting of the Wise." At the present time, it must not be considered as essential to or a part of the Federal system.

We have spoken of the Council as one of the two corner-stones of Swiss Constitutionalism. It remains to call attention briefly to the REFERENDUM, which is counted the other. To the *Referendum* the writer in the Edinburgh devotes eleven of the thirty-three pages of his article, interesting pages of course, in the general line of commendation of DEMOCRACY IN SWITZERLAND, slightly apologetical in tone, yet in general vindication of the claim of its "complete success." Sir Francis Adams also seems mildly to approve the *Referendum* which he defines "The reference to all vote-possessing citizens, either of the Confederation or of a Canton, for acceptance or rejection, of laws and resolutions framed by their representatives." That this is one of the most important provisions which could be incorporated into the constitution of any country, is evident. It may be more fully explained in a few words. By it, two classes of subjects are presented for the suffrage of the people—

I. All amendments or revisions of the Constitution.

II. Any or all laws enacted by the Federal Assembly.

The first is *imperative*. Whether initiated by the Legislature, or by the people themselves, the *Constitution* can only be established, or amended by the people. This is the "*Referendum obligatory*," as to the wisdom and propriety of which, no question can arise in a democracy. But the *optional Referendum* presents a very different question, no longer constitutional but legislative. Any [general] law passed by the Assembly must be submitted to the Swiss people for ratification or rejection, if such submission is demanded by thirty thousand voters within ninety days of its passage, and if the law fails to receive a majority vote, it is inoperative and dead.

How far the principle of REFERENDUM may be regarded as a sound one, and whether the example thus set by Switzerland may be easily or safely followed by other republics, are questions as to which opinions may widely differ, and whose consideration must be postponed to a later day.

NOTE.—Reference has been made in the foregoing Report, to a proposed *Appendix*, and also to a photographic reproduction of the Latin "Pact." It has not been found convenient to complete the latter in season for these Proceedings. It also seems desirable to add to the points intended to be elucidated in the *Appendix*, some considerations which the present relations of the writer with the government of Switzerland and the United States make it proper to postpone for a season.

The writer will therefore ask leave to present, at a future meeting of the Society, a paper which shall cover all these subjects.

BERNE, *August, 1890.*

J. D. W.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1890.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds October 1, 1889.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$773.44.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1890, was \$108,497.85, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,588.10
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,649.58
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,394.21
The Publishing Fund,.....	21,893.43
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,680.31
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,935.56
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,090.27
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,552.39
The Alden Fund,.....	1,246.42
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,319.73
The George Chandler Fund,.....	529.93
The Francis H. Dewey Fund.....	2,137.52
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,.....	773.44
Subscription to Stevens's "Facsimiles".....	30.00

\$108,497.85

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$8,315.38.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1890, is as follows :

DR.

1889.	Oct. 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$7,835.16
1890.	April 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	2,656.30
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	70.00
"	"	Received for life assessment A. H. Green,	50 00
"	"	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	90.00
"	"	Received payment on mortgage note,.....	50.00
"	"	Bank tax refunded,.....	405.16
"	"	Subscription to Stevens's " Facsimiles "...	25.00
			<hr/>
			\$11,181.71

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1890,.....	\$1,588.25
By expense of repairs,.....	358.37
By printing "Proceedings".....	222.41
Books purchased,.....	148.04
For binding,.....	210.00
Incidental expenses, including coal,.....	169.26
For Stevens's " Facsimiles,".....	20.00
For Insurance,	150 00
	<hr/>
	\$2,866.33
Balance in cash April 1, 1890,	8,315.38
	<hr/>
	\$11,181.71

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1889,	\$39,620.84
Income to April 1, 1890,	1,190.36
Transferred from Tenney Fund,	150.00
Life assessment,.....	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$41,011.20
Paid for salaries,.....	\$1,177.26
Incidental expenses.....	95.84
For Insurance,	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,423.10
1890, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	<hr/>
	\$39,588.10

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$18,566.45	
For books sold,	19.60	
Income to April 1, 1890,	556.99	
	<u>\$19,143.04</u>	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals, ..	493.46	
1890, April 1. Amount of Fund,		\$18,649.58

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$6,409.67	
Income to April 1, 1890,	194.54	
	<u>\$6,604.21</u>	
Paid for binding,	210.00	
1890, April 1. Amount of Fund,		\$6,394.21

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$21,418.78	
Income to April 1, 1890,	642.56	
Publications sold,	54.50	
	<u>\$22,115.84</u>	
Cost of printing "Proceedings,"	222.41	
Balance April 1, 1890,		\$21,893.43

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$1,633.31	
Income to April 1, 1890,	49.00	
	<u>\$1,682.31</u>	
Paid for books,	2.00	
Balance April 1, 1890,		\$1,680.31

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$2,850.06	
Income to April 1, 1890,	85.50	
Balance April 1, 1890,		\$2,935.56

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$1,130.18	
Income to April 1, 1890,	33.90	
	<u>\$1,164.08</u>	
Paid for books,	73.81	
Balance April 1, 1890,		\$1,090.27

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$4,767.73
Income to April 1, 1890,	143.03
	<hr/>
	\$4,910.76
Paid for repairs,	358.37
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1890,	\$4,552.39

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$1,210.12
Income to April 1, 1890,	36.30
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1890,	\$1,246.42

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$5,000.00
Income to April 1, 1890,	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,150.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	150.00
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1890,	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$1,300.40
Income to April 1, 1890,	39.01
	<hr/>
	\$1,339.41

Paid for books,

19.68

Balance April 1, 1890, \$1,319.73

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$536.10
Income to April 1, 1890,	16.08
Books sold,	12.00
	<hr/>
	\$564.18

Paid for books,

34.25

Balance April 1, 1890, \$529.93

The Francis H. Dorcey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1889,	\$2,084.25
Income to April 1, 1890,	62.52
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1890,	\$2,146.77

Paid for books,

9.25

\$2,137.52

Total of the thirteen funds, \$107,017.45

Balance to the credit of Premium Account, 676.96

Balance to the credit of Income Account, 773.44

Subscriptions to Stevens's "Facsimiles," 30.00

April 1, 1890, total, \$108,497.85

1890.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 888.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	3,190.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	488.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	550.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,256.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	672.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	715.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	5,934.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,162.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,650.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		\$23,000.00	\$29,635.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,350.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	750.00
BONDS.			
	Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,665.00
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,960.00
	Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,250.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	5,031.00
	Chicago, Santa Fé & California R. R.,.....	3,000.00	3,000.00
	Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	42,900.00	42,900.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	3,482.47	3,482.47
	Cash,.....	8,315.38	8,315.38
		\$108,497.85	\$119,338.85

WORCESTER, Mass., April 19, 1890.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1890, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.

A. G. BULLOCK.

April 25, 1890.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IN the librarian's semi-annual account of his stewardship, a reference to those matters of routine which are common to all libraries of our class may not be required, but your attention should perhaps be called to certain matters of unusual interest. It is, for instance, pleasant to note a closer tie to Cornell and Harvard Universities through the pupils of our associates, Ex-President Andrew D. White, Dr. Moses Coit Tyler and Prof. Edward Channing. The presence of these students for the special purpose of examining our files of revolutionary and pre-revolutionary newspapers, reminds us of the pressing need of what for a better name might be called the Eighteenth Century Newspaper Fund. Every opportunity should be taken to enrich the remarkable collection above referred to. Even stray numbers, such as were recently offered at the Lewis sale should, if needed, be secured. Certain of our other departments, which are rich in good works, should be made richer both for our own sake and for the sake of all scholars. Such opportunities as have been afforded by the recent Barlow, Brevoort, Cole and Quaritch sales emphasize the importance of an enlarged book fund for general use. While in such case I would not advocate the indiscriminate purchase of rarities, it would seem wise to honor our founder—the author of the *History of Printing*—by more fully illustrating the progress or decline of the art of which he wrote; and again to make as complete as possible the rare collection of Mather tracts which came to us so largely through his munificence. Regarding the Mather rarities, I find in the library the following manuscript entry by Mr. Christopher C. Baldwin: "January 10, 1834: Cotton Mather's works are 382, and

yet not more than eighty are in any of our public libraries." Fifty-six years later, we find on our shelves over two hundred of the more than four hundred of their separate works mentioned in Sabin. To aid in the strengthening of such collections, it is quite possible that there may be found in the future some way of carrying out Col. Washburn's novel suggestion made in his Council Report of October, 1888. He said, "Assume that we have a collection of authorities on any particular subject which is almost perfect; the nearer perfection is approached the more vital and pressing the necessity of reaching it even if the material necessary to complete it be among the more insignificant in inherent importance. Some other library has this, thinks little of it because it is so insignificant, would gladly give it to us in exchange for something which, valuable to it on the same grounds, is comparatively unimportant to us." Alongside this statement of our Recording Secretary, I submit as guardedly seconding his motion, two paragraphs from an article in the March number of the *Library Journal* by Mr. Reuben B. Poole, Librarian of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York. The paper is upon "Specializations in New York Libraries" and the quotation therefrom follows: "A system of exchange which would not conflict with established rules or customs duties, or the requests of donors, might be effected which would result in greatly enriching all without impoverishing any. There is unquestionably now much in all our libraries that is absolutely dead stock which, if put in the right library, would fulfil some other mission than simply occupying shelf-room and accumulating dust." In this connection the efforts of the New England Historic Genealogical Society to centralize and specialize their work as well as their collections may well attract attention.

We have been able to assist very materially the venture which the New Jersey Historical Society contemplates in the publication of several volumes of early newspaper ex-

tracts relating to the State of New Jersey. Such a chronological arrangement of the editorials, letters, ship news, advertisements, etc., in the exact language of the period, will be an interesting if not always a trustworthy form of history. Our early pamphlet literature has yielded many titles for the Hon. Joseph Williamson's Bibliography of Maine; while we are assisting—as we have done the past twenty-four years—Sabin's Dictionary of Books relating to America, now happily nearing its completion. Miss Susan H. Yerkes, Librarian of the Arthur Winter Memorial Library of Staten Island, has been aided in the preparation of a bibliographical account of American theatrical literature including works historical, bibliographical and critical relating to the theatre and to actors. Our department of Rebellion and Slavery, including the collection of War scrap-books, has also been carefully examined for our associate, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in the interest of his great commission as military and naval historian of Massachusetts. At the suggestion of Minister Washburn, duplicates of the insurance periodicals received for so many years past from him and from William A. Smith, Esq., have been turned over to the Insurance Library Association of Boston, by whom the files will be completed, so far as possible, and bound. The transfer of Boston documents to that City has led to such a strong effort to complete its department files, that a like step has been taken with the same class of Worcester reports. Following the publisher's gift of *The Voice* was an appeal for our imperfect file for redistribution. The request of Gen. Adolphus W. Greely, chief signal officer, for an exchange of meteorological duplicates, has resulted in our sending him not only such authorities as Espy on Storms, but a set of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital reports in which for more than thirty years careful and detailed observations were recorded; an unusual and unexpected but very welcome source of desired information. One of the minor advantages of our system

of the re-distribution of duplicate benevolent society reports, is found in the fact that an appeal to the societies or institutions for missing numbers, often suggests the propriety of caring for their surplus reports. The call of the American Historical Association for an account of our Society, its library, its work and its membership, was promptly met by forwarding the recent brochures of Messrs. Green and Paine of our Council, our President's Partial Index to the Proceedings, the new list of officers and members, etc. We should not forget the assistance of Vice-President Hoar in the successful effort to secure government recognition of this young and vigorous society. Though organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884, it was chartered, as you are aware, at Washington as late as January 4, 1889, "for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and history in America."

The transfer of the Library School from Columbia College to the care of the Board of Regents of the University of New York, places it at the capital under the fostering care of a great State and leads its friends to hope for its continued success under the leadership of its founder. The Society has twice been represented in the lecture course in New York by its librarian. On the 22d instant, by invitation of Mr. Samuel S. Green, librarian of the Free Public Library, who is also a member of our Council, the School visited Worcester, and while under his hospitable guidance made a somewhat hasty examination both of our treasures and our methods of administration.

Since the publication of the interesting paper on Cotton Mather and his Slaves, read by Prof. Henry W. Haynes, at our last meeting, I have noticed the following brief entry in Cotton Mather's Diary, confirming the truth of his quotation from the Rev. Wm. B. O. Peabody's life of Dr. Mather. It bears date January 17, 1717, and reads: "I have now a

Charity-Schule erected for y^e instruction of Negroes and Indians, Whereof I am at y^e sole Expence. God prosper it." His labors for the blacks and for the copper-colored would seem to have been both very personal and long continued.

The external improvements upon our library building have been of an important and permanent character. They consist of snow-guards for the Highland Street roof of the main hall and a copper conduit leading from the same side of the Salisbury Annex alongside the inner wall to the city sewer. A further draft upon the indispensable Salisbury Building Fund must soon provide more book-cases for the lower main hall and thus relieve the still overcrowded lobbies above. On the first day of March Miss E. M. C. Rice withdrew from service in the library, and from the first of April we have had the undivided labors of our janitor.

Following a precedent long since established, a set of our publications as complete as circumstances would allow, was forwarded to our associate, Sir Daniel Wilson, President of the University of Toronto, whose buildings and library were destroyed by fire on the evening of the 14th of February. President Wilson says in his note of acknowledgment, "Accept of grateful thanks on behalf of my colleagues and myself for the kind and valued gift of the publications of the American Antiquarian Society to the Library of the University. We highly appreciate this kind mark of sympathy."

In the appendix to this report will be found the names of two hundred and eighty-six givers, the largest number ever recorded in a semi-annual report of the librarian. The list includes forty members, one hundred and thirty-four persons not members, and one hundred and twelve societies and institutions. The average number for the five years last past, not including the present report, is two hundred and twenty-seven, namely, forty-four members, one hundred and four persons not members, and ninety-three socie-

ties and institutions. I need not call your attention to the lesson which this comparison is intended to convey. The accessions which far exceed the average in quantity, though perhaps not in quality, may be entered, for convenience of reference, under the following heads: *Gifts*, fourteen hundred and eighty-seven books, fifty-three hundred and forty-six pamphlets, two hundred and eight volumes of unbound newspapers, forty engravings, twenty-six specimens of pottery, sixteen maps, two framed and twelve unframed photographs, five pieces of war currency, five broadsides and two book-cases; *Exchanges*, one hundred and thirty-eight books and two hundred and twenty-six pamphlets; and from the *Bindery* one hundred volumes of newspapers; making a *Total* of sixteen hundred and twenty-five books, fifty-five hundred and seventy-two pamphlets, one hundred volumes of bound and two hundred and eight of unbound newspapers, and the other articles above-named. There would seem to be at this time no call for extended notices of special gifts, but a few brief, suggestive references follow. We have received with peculiar pleasure three of the five volumes of B. F. Stevens's facsimiles of manuscripts in European Archives relating to America with descriptions, editorial notes, collations, references and translations, which were subscribed for at the charge of Messrs. Salisbury, Hoar and Davis. The *Athenæum* after strongly commending the work says, "These documents are full of facts out of which the intelligent student can frame a history of an episode in the American Revolution which shall be trustworthy"; and the *Nation* remarks, "We heartily recommend the Collection to all serious students of the history of the Revolutionary War," adding that "For the thorough understanding of minor characters and secondary events, and for side lights upon persons and things of great importance, few publications can prove more useful." Our President, who has again honored our call for his Yucatecan reprints, will be glad to know that his investment has

already added some two hundred dollars to the Publishing Fund; a very suggestive fact. Large gifts, of public documents have as usual been received from Vice-President Hoar and the Hon. William W. Rice, and a set of Brooks's Old Times Series, from the Hon. Edward Isaiah Thomas. Dr. George H. Moore has forwarded for the Mather Collection a reprint—with an introduction by himself—of Cotton Mather's Rules for the Society of Negroes, 1693, adding several of his historical brochures for the general library. Hon. Edward L. Davis has sent with his semi-annual gifts of books and pamphlets, a framed photograph of Vice-President Bancroft's birth-place on Salisbury Street, and of the Stone Tower at Lake Park, Worcester, Mr. Davis's latest benefaction to his native town. And here I wish to supplement a previous acknowledgment to Mr. Davis of the Sumner-Longfellow portraits of the war period, with the statement of the owner of the original, that but fifty copies were printed; and further to note the following paragraphs as to the first named as found in Librarian Christopher C. Baldwin's Diary December 13, 1834. He says, "I ought to have mentioned that last week I was visited by Mr. Charles Sumner, son of C. P. Sumner, Esq., Sheriff of Boston. He is a young man of good promise. He came to Worcester to be admitted to the Bar. He was admitted here, I believe, the 3d. I have never seen him before. I cannot but believe that he is destined to make a conspicuous figure in his profession." Judge P. Emory Aldrich presents a carefully prepared and certified copy of a report to the Massachusetts Legislature by him and his associates in the case of the Dudley Indians *versus* the Commonwealth, with the suggestion that "It may be of interest to some future enquirer after Indian antiquities." Mr. Henry Adams has forwarded the four volumes of his exhaustive account of the second term of Jefferson's administration; and Dr. Daniel G. Brinton his numerous recent contributions to the departments of Archaeology and Ethnology. Bishop Wm.

Stevens Perry has completed our set of the *Iowa Churchman*, to which he has always been the largest contributor, and Mr. Henry H. Edes our set of the *Civil Service Record*. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop has placed in the alcove of Biography, Curry's Sketch of the Diplomatic Service of Hon. George Wm. Ewing, who was a member of this Society. It contains an introduction by Mr. Winthrop and is of peculiar value as no notice of Mr. Ewing's death appeared in our proceedings. Rev. Dr. Daniel Merriman presents an imperfect copy of Increase Mather's Meditations upon Death, to perfect our own copy, with Curtis's Topographical and Historical Sketch of Epsom, N. H., which is a rarity in this complete form. The latest and perhaps the most valuable gift is from Mr. Edward H. Thompson, of Merida, Yucatan. It consists of twenty-four of his excellent reproductions of the early utensils and implements of that country. Prof. Edward Hitchcock has added to the same department two casts of small pots found in Revere and Marblehead, Massachusetts. We have secured with the Chandler, Davis, Dewey, Haven and Thomas funds, ten, fifteen, eight, twelve, and thirty-three valuable works respectively.

The following references are to persons not members of this Society, who nevertheless appear to have a marked regard for its welfare. Mr. Clinton M. Dyer, who has shown much interest in improving our Numismatic Collection, has placed in our coin cabinet the rare liberty-cap cent of 1796. Through Miss Fanny E. Sweetser we have received a large mass of pamphlet literature including many of our early proceedings—which are always desirable; and Mr. Van Wyck Horton has deposited a valuable collection of magazines relating to photography, with specimens of early European photographs. We have received from the author, Mr. Curtiss C. Gardiner, his Genealogy of the Gardiner family, and from Mrs. William T. Forbes her Hundredth Town—Westborough, Mass., both on account

of special service rendered. These are but samples of such wise deposits. The Rev. George F. Clark has made a second large gift of Unitarian and Temperance literature, while the Rev. Samuel D. Hosmer has added to our newspaper room a much needed twenty-year file of the *Nantucket Inquirer and Mirror*. From Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D., we have a framed copy of Brady's excellent photograph of the officers of the American Historical Association. It was taken December 30, 1889, and of the eight persons represented, six are members of our Society. Following is the untitled list, alphabetically arranged: Charles K. Adams, Herbert B. Adams, George Bancroft, Clarence W. Bowen, John Jay, Wm. Frederick Poole, Andrew D. White and Justin Winsor. The following paragraphs from recent notes of the Rev. Francis T. Russell, son-in-law of Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney, refer to the only unidentified bust in our collection. Mr. Russell writes, "I enclose photographs of the Greenough bust and Wilson crayon portrait. The former is not at all like Mrs. S., but the latter was, or rather is, a good likeness, slightly idealized. You will see that the shape of the head, the droop of the shoulders and the general outline of the form and particularly the downward line of the nose show that the bust in your rooms could not have been designed for Mrs. Sigourney." In an earlier communication, written after he had visited our hall, Mr. Russell said, "In the bust, the mouth is the most expressive and beautiful I have ever seen." As this latter impression is shared to a certain extent by your librarian, he will be excused for reporting one more effort to identify this marble presentment. The Reverend Edward G. Porter, who has also been interested in the quest and to whom a photograph of the bust was sent for inspection, sends the following judgment of an old friend of Mrs. Sigourney. "It is not the bust of Mrs. Sigourney. I am quite sure of it, as I had the plaster cast of her bust for some months in my parlor in New York. It was a very striking likeness

of her." A careful comparison of our photograph with many engraved portraits at the Boston Athenæum brings us the statement that "A likeness has been found to both Mrs. Sigourney and Mrs. Hemans, but the preference has been given to Mrs. Hemans by two persons of artistic taste to whom the pictures have been submitted." By far the largest gift of the past six months is that of the Spy Publishing Company, represented on our Council by J. Evarts Greene, Esq., and by Messrs. John S. and Charles C. Baldwin, sons of the Hon. John D. Baldwin, a former member of the Society. The public documents, found to be duplicate, were at once sent on their mission to supply libraries less fortunate than our own. We acknowledge from the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Worcester Town Records 1784-1788, the publication of which has been wisely encouraged by a city appropriation. This volume is in continuation of similar work which they have brought out under the excellent supervision of Mr. Franklin P. Rice. And just here it may not be improper to add that our President, in practical recognition of their good work, has deeded to that society a valuable lot on Salisbury Street, upon which to build a well-deserved society home for their rapidly increasing library and cabinet. May I further add that owing to the fact of the marked similarity of the names of the two societies which are to be such near neighbors, your librarian has frequently been asked, "What is to be done with your old hall when the new one is ready?" together with other queries of like import! I desire to record the fact that special interest attaches to the recently received Oxford and Salem public library reports, inasmuch as they sketch the successful and unsuccessful efforts to establish various libraries in these early Massachusetts towns. The city and town documents received from the new administration of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, are in return for a like gift from our duplicate room, which has also added to their stock a large collection of their duplicate publications.

The societies will try to aid each other in what may be called a broad exchange. In like manner we have been able to assist the Historical Library of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and the British Provinces—Mr. Jacob T. Bowne, of Springfield, Mass., Custodian—receiving a valuable return therefor. This unique library aims to secure not only all classes of Y. M. C. A. documents, but the publications of other religious societies of young men, both denominational and undenominational, and of young men's literary, library, benevolent and moral reform societies, etc., with books of all kinds written for the welfare of young men. In fact they desire anything which will in any way tend to illustrate the history or methods of work for the physical, social, moral, and religious welfare of young men. All such special efforts should meet with our hearty approval and coöperation. An unusually high grade of material has been received by way of exchange; the departments of biography, genealogy, local history, psalmody and witchcraft having been especially strengthened thereby.

Since our last meeting, the north wing of the Society's old hall on the corner of Summer and Belmont streets has been torn down and a modern apartment-house erected upon its site. As its further destruction is a probable event in the near future, I am led to record a few facts with regard to the old home. They have been chiefly gathered from unpublished records and other manuscript sources. An official advertisement in the *Massachusetts Spy* of August 23, 1820, signed Rejoice Newton, Recording Secretary, announces that "The Building lately erected for the use of the Society in Worcester by the bounty of the President Isaiah Thomas LL.D. being now completed, will be dedicated on Thursday the 24th inst. (tomorrow). The exercises on the occasion will be prayers, a Public address by Isaac Goodwin Esq. and appropriate musick. Members of the Society and others disposed to Countenance this

National Institution, are requested to attend. The Society will dine at Sikes' Coffee-House." The Sub Council Records of August 24, 1820, inform us that "On this day the President, Vice President Bancroft, Sub Council and other officers of the Society met in the new building for the library, together with a number of the members, and went in procession to the Church of the North Parish¹ where the Dedication was performed agreeably to an order on the 10th of April last. A large number of people visited the Library after the exercises were over." The building having been completed and occupied, the following entries in the Sub Council Records show how the Collections were to be made useful: Sept. 18, 1820, it was "voted that the members in Worcester take turns, each one week, to take charge of the Library and Cabinet." February 7, 1822, it was "Agreed that the following gentlemen, in the order of their names as stated below, attend for the purpose of waiting on persons who shall be admitted to visit the Society's Library, weekly, one of them a week each, viz.: Mr. Thomas, Rev. Dr. Bancroft, Mr. Bangs, Mr. Bigelow, Mr. Burnside, Mr. Jennison, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Maccarty, Mr. Newton." Our founder's plea for protection from the dangers by fire, which was written with his own hand under date August 4, 1823, in a volume marked "Donors and Donations to the American Antiquarian Society," is as follows: "No fire is ever to be made in the Rooms occupied for the Library and Cabinet, and no fire must be made in the room appropriated for the Librarian until the wood work of the fire-place is taken away or covered at least half way up with tin or sheet-iron, and floor adjoining the Hearth covered at least four feet each way where the Hearth projects, with tin or sheet-lead, after which a stove should be used placed back from the Hearth. No fire or lights to be used after sunset. Too much care cannot be taken as it respects fire." Possibly too little fire had resulted in too much dampness and

¹ The Church of which the Reverend Dr. Bancroft was then pastor.

this may have been, in part at least, the occasion of the following entry in the Sub Council Records of July 13, 1826, viz.: "The Librarian was requested to take an assistant and put the library and cabinet in better order—which was soon after attended to." Thus much of the building in its original form and the service therein rendered. Dr. Thomas died April 4, 1831, and at the semi-annual meeting, June 20, following, the Society accepted the report of a Sub Council Committee consisting of Frederick W. Paine, Isaac Goodwin and Rejoice Newton, which had been appointed to consider and report on the subject of erecting a fire-proof wing or wings to Antiquarian Hall under the provisions of the will of the late Isaiah Thomas. They reported in favor of "the erection of two wings as soon as may be convenient, each wing to be twenty-five feet long and twenty deep, two stories high and covered with slate or zinc. One of the wings to have the floors covered with stone or brick and to communicate with the main building by means of an iron door." The estimated expense was twelve hundred dollars, and for painting the wooden part of the main building thirty-five dollars including the cupola, which latter, however, it is frankly added, "Your committee consider neither useful nor ornamental but on the contrary, as defacing the building and very difficult to render right, and they would, therefore, suggest the propriety of taking it away." A footnote records the fact that "Isaac) Goodwin objects to that part of the report which recommends removing the cupola, and his objection has been sustained for the six years." The minutes of the Annual Meeting, October 16, 1831, mention a report of the Sub Council, consisting of Isaac Goodwin, Lemuel and Frederick W. Paine, on the condition of the library house, and the Sub Council, December 10, 1832, says "October 14, 1832, says that the cupola is in a ruinous state, and are now taking measures to remove it, and that some alterations have been made in the interior of the building, and such as are necessary by the

additions, the want of proper ventilation and the rot occasioned by damp and leakage." The element of dampness is again forcibly suggested by the following entry in the librarian's account book the month previous; "Paid Jonathan Wood for old barrels for my well in the cellar 12½ c."! I add from the above-named report the following paragraphs: "The want of more room was felt before the death of Mr. Thomas, and he left a legacy of one thousand dollars towards building the wings. It was thought most judicious to erect at this time two wings sufficiently spacious to meet the wants of the library for some years to come, and also, to accommodate the Librarian. These objects have been fully attained and the expense as appears by the report of Mr. Frederick William Paine for the Building Committee will be about nineteen hundred and fifty dollars, one thousand of which is provided by the aforesaid legacy." The Council Report of May 29, 1833, signed by William Lincoln and Samuel M. Burnside, speaks of the building as "Convenient for the purposes of appropriation, neat and elegant in appearance, alike useful for the Society and ornamental to the town." (The present hall was first occupied for a meeting of the Society, October 2, 1853.)

Referring to our list of members, it appears that but five remain to tell us of the annual doings at the Hall of our Founder. Their honored names follow in the order of seniority of election: George Bancroft, Robert C. Winthrop, George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, and J. C. Bancroft Davis. Such reminiscences would be of marked interest to members of a later period and might well be illustrated with the existing cuts of the building as it has appeared from time to time. Before leaving the old home, I venture to submit, chronologically arranged, a few items relating to the library and the librarian's life in the days of the Society's youth and early manhood. Admission to the enlarged treasure-house was to be obtained under the new By-Laws of October 24, 1831, "On the personal in-

roduction or on producing a ticket of a member of the Society."

The quotations which follow have been taken from the important though very personal Diary of Christopher C. Baldwin, Esq., who was elected to membership in the Society October 23, 1827, was later placed temporarily in charge of its library and collections, was elected Librarian in the autumn of 1831, and took the office April 1, 1832. As a whole it covers from January 1, 1829, to the morning of his sudden death, August 20, 1835; and has a decidedly quaint style, with a marked local coloring. It may serve to indicate to us the strong personality which was thrown into the library work within and without the library walls, not only by Mr. Baldwin but by others of the Society's early and devoted librarians. The following paragraphs fix the date of Mr. Baldwin's first salaried service and the location of the librarian's room: "April 1, 1832. This day my salary begins as Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. I build a fire in my apartment in the Hall of the Society (in the south wing) and answer several letters." The following refers to the personal service of one who was for thirty-seven years a faithful officer of the Society: "His Excellency, Governor Lincoln, came with several men to lay out the grounds in front of the Antiquarian Hall. He worked very diligently two days and made some very acceptable alterations. The thermometer stood at 91, and I have no question but that he had a warm time of it." Two facts appear from the next selection, viz., that our newspaper collection of 1832 numbered about twelve hundred volumes, and that it was placed on the second floor of the wing now demolished. "July 10, 1832. This day I have shelves erected in the chamber of the north wing of the Antiquarian Hall for the reception of newspapers. The shelves are put up and I load them with six hundred volumes of papers, which comprise about half of our collection of that kind of reading." An early visit to the library

by Peter Force is thus chronicled: "October 8, 1833. Peter Force, Esq., of Washington, D. C., came to town last evening. He is engaged in collecting and arranging for the press, the documentary history of all the colonies from their origin to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, April 13, 1789. He has been employed about it several years already. He has now associated with him Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Clerk of the House of Representatives of Congress, and both are acting under a direction contained in a Resolve of Congress. They visit Worcester for the purpose of examining the collection of newspapers in the Antiquarian Hall. Mr. Force was with me all day. I have never found one who was so familiar with the events of our Revolutionary War as he." The facts of a visit and a request from Hon. Henry Clay are thus entered: "November 5, 1833. I was visited by Mr. Clay at the Antiquarian Hall, this morning, in company with the committee. He requested me, upon his arrival at Washington, to write him, giving an account of the Antiquarian Society."

Perhaps Mr. Baldwin's devotion to his library work is nowhere more forcibly put than in the following short paragraphs: "January 21, 1834. But what right has a Librarian to have any affection but for books and manuscripts? I doubt his authority for any other love even though it be for a beautiful lady." The intention, expressed in the following, as to a Dictionary of books relating to America would doubtless have been carried out in our old hall had Mr. Baldwin's life been spared, as frequent allusions to his purpose are to be found in his diary. "March 13, 1834. I must account this one of the happiest days of my life. I received early in the morning a copy of the *Bibliotheca Britannica* by Robert Watt in 4 vols. 4to. Edinburgh 1824, for which I paid thirty-eight dollars. It has often occurred to me how much we want such a work in this country, and since I have been Librarian I have uniformly held out the idea that our Library was designed to collect all the pro-

ductions of American authors. I shall begin shortly to make a sort of *Bibliotheca Americana*, but there will be no occasion for many notes because our continent is so new. But by making such a book I may get some fame, and of all fame in this world the fame of a librarian is the most to my taste. I can make a work of this description and a History of American Printing at this time." Evidence of his interest in the external surroundings of the hall appear in the following entries: "March 17, 1834. Set out in front of Antiq'n Hall ten Locust Trees which I procured from the nursery of William Lincoln. I brought them on my back at two loads. The trunks are about an inch in diameter at the ground. I have set all the trees that are now growing about the Hall. I began the planting of them in November, 1832, but the greater part of them were planted in March and April, 1833." And again he writes, "April 19, 1834. Anniversary of the battle of Lexington. I spent the afternoon in planting trees about Antiquarian Hall. I have now planted all I designed to in the beginning. I have set out perhaps five hundred of different kinds. I have dug these up in the woods and have brought them on my back. They will afford a comfortable shade for my successor, if I should not live to enjoy it myself." And here I am reminded of William Lincoln's touching reference to some of these trees when called by the Society the following year to pay the last tribute to his friend Baldwin. He said, "The evergreens selected by the taste and planted by the hand of the late lamented librarian, are the fit symbol of the memory of that excellent officer as cherished by the many who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and particularly of those who from official association intimately, knew his merits and his worth." Mr. Baldwin thus refers to his journey to Boston to attend the Society's spring meeting in 1834, and to interviews with several members: "May 27, 1834. I went to Boston with William Lincoln to attend the Semi-Annual Meeting

of the Society. We left Worcester at 6 in the morning in the mail stage and reached Boston at 12 at noon. Our stage company consisted of the Hon. Benjamin Russell, the famous Editor of the *Boston Centinel*, Gen. Mattoon of Amherst, Col. Edward G. Prescott, etc. Mr. Russell and Gen. Mattoon being Revolutionary soldiers entertained us with their fighting experience. They fought every battle from that of Lexington to the taking of Cornwallis. Both knew General Washington personally and also Dr. Franklin. Russell mentioned several anecdotes of the latter, and one which occurred while he was a printer's boy with Isaiah Thomas at Worcester. Dr. Franklin was on some public business in this part of the country which required his stay at Worcester two or three days. Much of this time was spent in the printing office, and Mr. Russell says that he gave the men some very useful hints about working the press. The press was so constructed that only half of one side of a sheet could be printed at one motion and the Doctor took the apparatus out and in a few minutes arranged it so that the whole side of a sheet could be printed at one instead of two operations. Although he (Russell) is now seventy-six, he looks like a man of sixty, and when he begins to tell an anecdote his manner is so earnest and the circumstances so particular that the hearer has no ground for doubting anything. On Saturday morning I went to visit the Rev. Dr. Jenks. He wished me to give him an account of my labors as librarian and of the condition of the Institution. He particularly commended my plan of increasing the Library by making it a collection of the productions of American authors. He inspired me with so much new zeal and love for my vocation that I shall return to my labors with new pleasure and satisfaction. I met Jared Sparks at Wilkins' Book-store. I spent a half hour with him very pleasantly and he in an especial manner commended me for my care and labor in the collection and preservation of newspapers, saying that in his different pub-

lications he had made great use of them and regretted that so few perfect files of old papers had been spared from destruction. I was in Boston five days. I amuse myself by going among the different book-stores and hunting up American History. I found some hundreds of volumes which I wanted that could be purchased for a mere trifle. I had only fifteen dollars of the Society's money to expend and this I laid out as advantageously as I could." The following reference is to Bentley material received by bequest from Mr. Wm. B. Fowle, and acknowledged in the librarian's report of April, 1866, in which report Dr. Haven says: "It is not known that he had ever intimated an intention to make this disposition of his share of his uncle's books and papers. Indeed, it was understood that he had proposed to prepare the diaries for the press, since the lapse of time had obviated the objections to a publication of the somewhat free and flavored comments upon men and things they are said to contain." However, the good seed which had been so faithfully sown some thirty years before by a predecessor in office, sprang up and bore abundant fruit. The interview which was productive of action is thus recorded: "June 4, 1834. William Bentley Fowle, Esq., of Boston, came to see me today and remained with me two days and a half. He is the nephew of the late Rev. Dr. Bentley of Salem. He promised me that at some convenient time he would present to the Antiquarian Society the manuscripts which belonged to his uncle and also that he would prepare a biographical memoir of him, for the transactions of the Society." The kindly relations which have so long existed between the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Athenæum and our own, are briefly indicated by the following: "January 20, 1835. I brought with me from Boston many books that were given me for our Library. The pamphlets from the Historical Society and Athenæum are in number between three and four thousand." Absence from the library to attend the May Meeting in

1835—the last at which he was present—is referred to as follows: “May 25, 1835. Took the stage this morning for Boston to attend the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Antiquarian Society which is to be held on the 27th. At Westborough, I left the stage and took a seat in one of the cars of the Railroad and reached Boston at 10 A. M. There were about two hundred passengers. May 27, 1835. The Antiquarian Society met at 12 o'clock at the Exchange Coffee House. We were all invited to dine with Mr. Winthrop, President of the Society. The Society always dine with him and he gives a prime entertainment.”

A leading feature of the old hall which is pleasantly remembered by persons now living, is mentioned by William Lincoln, Esq., in his Council Report, May 29, 1839, viz.: “The Cabinet occupies one large room and has been arranged with great neatness. There are old specimens of the arts of Peru and Mexico, a vast number of implements, utensils, weapons and ornaments of the northern Indians, and some most interesting memorials of the planters of New England, and of the patriots of the Revolution.” Of the exterior, he says, in the same report, “Improvements have been made during the spring season on the grounds of the Society. The belt of trees flourishing in the front of the Hall has been extended along the sides and rear, and at no distant period, the library will be embowered in the shade of evergreens, proving walls of perennial verdure to separate the still retreat of the Antiquarian from the busy stir of the world.”

My closing reference to the old home shall be a quotation from our friend Dr. Haven's library report of April 27, 1853, upon entering the new home. He said, “An expression of regret may be permitted at parting with the old accustomed edifice which has so long served so useful a purpose and been the centre of so many pleasant associations. Its very defects are in a degree harmonious with the purpose to which it has been devoted. Its shaded position and

sombre halls, though generating mould and decay, have to common conception a fitness and propriety that almost compensate for their disadvantages."

The years that have passed since these descriptive notes were first penned, have brought to the Society added cares and opportunities, but may we not after all truly say of it not only that "the past at least is secure" but that "the future is full of promise." If our early members were proud of their Antiquarian Hall—the gift of the first President—which Mr. Goodwin in his dedicatory address called "that splendid edifice," so may we of these later days be justly proud of our well located, well lighted, well heated, well drained and, I may add, well filled Antiquarian Hall, largely the gift of our second great benefactor, who was also for so many years our honored President, and whose honored son and namesake now occupies the chair.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, HENRY, Esq., Washington, D. C.—His "History of the United States of America during the first administration of Thomas Jefferson." 4 vols., 8 vo.
- ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Certified copy of a Report to the Legislature of Massachusetts in the case of the Dudley Indians.
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Eighteen early music and hymn books; "Tacoma and Vicinity;" and three periodicals, in continuation.
- BARTON, WM. SUMNER, Esq., Worcester.—One book; forty-two pamphlets; and one map.
- BAXTER, Mr. JAMES P., Portland, Me.—His "Early Voyages to America."
- BRINTON, Prof. DANIEL G., Philadelphia, Pa.—Five of his own publications.
- CABLE, Mr. GEORGE W., Northampton.—His "Southern Struggle for Pure Government."
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—One book; and twenty-six pamphlets.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Esq., Worcester.—"Statuten des Gesang-Vereins Frohsinn in Worcester, Mass.," with a translation by Mr. Chase; eighty-nine pamphlets; and two photographs.
- CLARKE, Mr. ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—Two books; and two pamphlets.
- COLTON, Mr. REUBEN, Worcester.—Thirty selected pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Fourteen books; one hundred and seventy pamphlets; a framed photograph of the birthplace of Hon. George Bancroft; and two views of the Tower at Lake Park, Worcester.
- EDES, Mr. HENRY H., Charlestown.—Eight numbers of the "Civil Service Record," to complete our file.
- FOSTER, Mr. WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His "References to the Constitution of the United States."
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., *President*, Baltimore, Md.—His annual report of Johns Hopkins University, 1889.
- GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., *President*, New York.—Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own publications; four books; and one hundred and sixty-seven pamphlets.
- GREEN, Mr. SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His "Public Libraries of Worcester."
- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—His "Thomas A. Doyle. A Sketch of His Life."
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, Amherst.—Two Reproductions of indian pottery.

- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Proceedings at the completion of the Monument to the Pilgrims, containing Mr. Hoar's address; "Official Record of the War of the Rebellion," as issued; six books; one hundred and six pamphlets; and newspapers in numbers.
- HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—The Parish Year-Book of Grace Church, New York, 1890.
- JONES, HON. CHARLES C., JR., Augusta, Ga.—His "Funeral Oration in honor of President Jefferson Davis."
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ILLUSTRATED AMERICANA.
(SINCE 1600.)

BY JAMES F. HUNNEWELL.

Continued from Part I. (1493-1624), pages 66-77 in this volume.

THE development of colonization in America, especially on the northern continent, during the Seventeenth Century, naturally affected the number and style of the books then published to illustrate the country and its people. Accounts of travels by land, and general or particular histories, as well as descriptions of voyages, became more abundant. Curious and interesting facts are shown by an examination of these works, issued between 1600 and 1730, both in regard to the relative production by different countries, and the small proportion in our own language. Fractions expressing these might be a little changed, but general results would not be much altered.

The English press, represented perhaps alone by that of London, as it had previously been, supplied few of these works between 1600 and 1650. From 1650 to 1730, the number moderately increased, but was still only about sixteen per cent. of the total in all countries. The German issues, excluding those by the DeBrys and Hulsius, were

NOTES.—The word "Americana" has been used through this paper in the sense commonly given it, a term for the books on American subjects. Books on other subjects, American only because printed in America, are not included. Works with maps only, or with a single plate, can hardly be considered "illustrated," and mention of them is omitted.

The writer, after considerable experience, has thought it best not to illustrate these papers by reproducing plates. Qualities of engraving can hardly be shown; an octavo page compels reductions in many cases so that the originals are not well represented; and selection of a dozen examples from hundreds beside him, would meet somewhere the comment that others might, could or should have been chosen.

fewer, the French production still less, the Italian hardly three per cent. and the Spanish almost nothing. Art here again gives striking evidence. Although Spain held the then richest part of America, illustration of it, as well as of other parts, land and sea, passed to freer and more enterprising people, just as the wealth of the New World was meanwhile passing, and as the dominion was to follow.

The remarkable industry and energy of the Dutch was shown in engraving as in other pursuits, for the amount of Illustrated Americana that they produced between 1600 and 1730 was about fifty-three per cent. of all that Europe furnished. During the first half century of this period, the proportion was even larger; during the remainder it was evenly distributed. Compared with America, Holland is a small spot with few people, but we can almost as well not know about Columbus, as not know well what they have done, when we deal with Americana.

Another interesting particular appears about the relative attention to the different parts of America. Of the works issued in this period—excluding about one-third that may be called general, the largest number were devoted to the West Indies. There were about as many relating to the present area of the United States, if we count all the editions of Hennepin, but without them only about half as many. Some seventeen per cent. of all related to South America, five per cent. to Mexico and Central America, and, it seems strange, as many to Greenland.

Looking at these books in geographical rather than chronological order, we begin at the North. Among works on that region we find a Paris 8°, 1654, with Laon's Relation of a Voyage by French, but it has only a few plates. In 1663, appeared at Amsterdam a 4° with wood cuts, describing Northern Lands, including Iceland and Greenland; also, the same year and place a similar book, with an account of three voyages to the latter, and another with Raven's Journal of a voyage thither. Marten's voyage,

also thither, was treated in a 4^o with sixteen folding plates, published, in 1675, at Hamburg. There were several later editions. In 1682 and 1684, Dutch enterprise supplied accounts of the Whale Fishery in the Greenland seas, illustrated by folding copper-plates.

On Canada there were fewer illustrated works. Champlain's *Voyages* appeared in a 4^o, 1613, at Paris, with a moderate number of plates, neither very large nor elaborate. Within thirty years, there were other illustrated editions issued in the same city. Also there, in 1664, appeared Creuxius's *Historia Canadensis*, a 4^o with thirteen plates. Copies are now apt to be found mutilated, and lacking a large plate showing the martyrdom of the Jesuit fathers. Towards the close of the century appeared the works of Hennepin that were among the most popular in the whole range of earlier Americana. The wide extent of New France, as well as Canada, was described. Every succeeding list of the editions shows the number greater. Of nearly fifty issued, within about as many years, many are more or less illustrated. Among the earlier plates are one of a bison, and another of Niagara Falls. That views even a century before could be made fairly accurate in main features, and were so, has already been shown. This view of the great cataract (6½ in. by 4¾ in.) is another example. It is partly what is called a "bird's-eye" view of the country near and above the Falls, with many existing features but with more forest. On the Canadian side, a minor stream leaps athwart the larger fall. The latter seems to be too narrow. Otherwise the plate seems correct, and valuable as well as curious. The same estimate appears deserved by much of Hennepin's description, although if we credit the verdict of later research, about his reported exploration of the Mississippi, he must have had the energy of a modern steamboat, or the pen of an ancient Ananias.

New England, from the first, was the subject of many books and pamphlets, all now tantalizing to the collector

and a trial to his pockets. In these books, however, there are few plates. Somehow, the country, or the early thirst for knowledge about it, did not stimulate publishers to any great outlay on art for its illustration. Until 1624, the English, that is to say the London, press had supplied only about half a dozen works with plates specially on America, but the start that had then been given to colonization was signalized by a little galaxy of three works, that together compared well with any like group issued elsewhere. They were Capt. John Smith's "General History," 1624; "Sir Francis Drake Revived," 1626, and Samuel Purchas's "His Pilgrimes," 1625, in five volumes, folio. The last, although a general work on many parts of America, and like the others, less illustrated than we might wish, was the greatest English work of the kind yet produced, and, on the whole, not surpassed by anything of its sort that had been published on the Continent. The promise of increased, or similar, illustration was, however, all in this beginning. Art concerned itself as little in picturing New England as it did about the earliest discoveries, even less than it did about the Halls of the Montezumas. A great deal was printed on the politics, more on the theology of the people, and, unpropitious as was the literary atmosphere, no little poetry, including the verses of a Tenth Muse, sprung up in America, but excessively little engraved illustration. The scenery and architecture of the region were to be portrayed at a far later date, as were the manners and customs, for it was almost left to "Life" in our day to delineate the icy decorum of Puritan hilarity.

To the meagre illustrations of this part of the country John Josselyn's "New England's Rarities" was added in 1675, with many wood cuts of subjects in Natural History, excluding mankind generally, but including "A Perfect Description of an Indian Squa, in all her Bravery." It is, however, no virtue to make a short story about early illustrated books on New England. They are almost as scarce as dividends from some of our gold mines.

In 1651, at Amsterdam, a thin quarto was published with half a dozen copper-plates in the text. One of them, measuring about $4\frac{7}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, gives us the first engraved view of New Amsterdam, subsequently New York. A re-impression is the solitary illustration in Adriaen van der Donck's "*Nieuw-Nederlant*," issued four years afterwards.¹ In 1671, also at Amsterdam, appeared a large folio, the "*Onbekende Weereld*," by Arnold Montanus. Among its numerous plates was another view of New York, quite different, and larger ($6\frac{3}{8}$ by 5 inches). This in turn was re-issued the same year at London, in Ogilby's huge book "*America*" (p. 171), that also contained nineteen maps and one hundred and five plates derived from Montanus, of which work it was more or less a translation, and to which there is by no means profuse or conspicuous reference. A copy of the last-named view is in the *Genealogical Register*, July, 1882, where it is dated 1640. Judging by the two views the village was large, irregular and picturesque. By another plate (p. 173) Ogilby gives us reason to infer that unicorns ran wild in the country, where, he tells us (p. 178), there were many beasts called "*Buffles*," together with aborigines who were nasty, stubborn, covetous, revengeful, and addicted to stealing. If we also credit some modern statements, we are led to think that the prototypes of certain Metropolitan Aldermen were indigenous and not imported.

Pennsylvania received similar gratifying, although scanty, attention. In 1684, a quarto was published at Amsterdam, and another at Hamburg, each containing a plan of Philadelphia. These were followed in 1702, at Stockholm, by a third book, the "*Novæ Sveciæ*" of Campanius Holm, on the Swedish settlements. Among other plates in it is a copy of the Hennepin view of Niagara.

On Virginia, publications, especially pamphlets, were

¹ In 1651, it may be here added, a view of Pernambuco was also published at Amsterdam.

numerous, between 1600 and 1730, but very few were illustrated. In the meagre list is Williams's "Discovery of Silk-Worms," London, 1650, with a woodcut of a Saw Mill, and an "explication" thereof. Beverley's "Present State, 1705," also London, had fourteen plates, slightly like some of DeBry's.

On Spanish America, there were far more books. The most popular of them, or of any work on America during this period, was, perhaps, Las Casas's *Mirror of Spanish Tyranny*. Almost any story of atrocities by the Spaniards seems not only to have been believed, but to have had foundation on facts. DeBry issued the work; many Dutch editions followed; in 1699, it appeared in English at London, and in 1627, at least, illustrated, in Dutch, and with seventeen copper-plates, at Amsterdam. Solis's *Conquest of Mexico* rivalled the works of Las Casas in popularity. Between 1691 and 1741, there were in Spanish, French, Italian, or English, many issues with plates, some of them large, and among the best of their class, that had been produced. Zeiller's "*Monarchia Hispania*," in Dutch, 1659, with one hundred and thirteen pages on America, seems to have been far less popular.

The early neglect of Peru was not followed by much recognition during this period. Zarate's *History* (1556) was repeatedly published in French, with maps and plates; Cieza's *Travels*, with plates and a plan of Cuzco, appeared at London in 1709, and De la Vega's "*Incas*" (1609), illustrated, at London, 1688, at Amsterdam, 1737, and at Paris, 1744.

Chili was exhibited in 1646, by peculiar copper-plates and coarse cuts in D'Ovagle's "*Historica Relatione*" published at Rome. The coasts, and those of Peru, were described in an account of Frezier's *Voyage*, repeatedly issued with thirty-five to thirty-seven copper-plates. Collections of *Voyages*, and a few general works added to this moderate amount of illustration.

The "*Rerum in Brasilia*" of Barlaeus showed that country by means of thirty maps and twenty-four plates, published at Amsterdam in 1647, on a scale perhaps hitherto unknown. Dutch enterprise determined that Maurice of Nassau should be duly honored, and copies with the illustrations colored by hand, make an Art landmark in Americana. An edition reduced in every way appeared in 1660. Some of the fighting in Brazil is illustrated by large plates in the "*Guerre del Regno*," and some of the natural history in Piso's folio.

Mention of all the books that might be included in the general subject of this paper leads, however, too far into Bibliography, and allusion only can be made to many noticeable in their places and for what they are, yet perhaps, of minor importance.

The West Indies, for instance, were described by some twenty authors in works more or less illustrated, treating of the Indies together, or of special parts. The works of Herrera and Spilbergen, in the former class, were rivals in popularity during the first quarter of the Seventeenth century, each appearing in French and in Dutch, the first in Spanish, the other in Latin. A successor in popularity was Rochefort's "*Antilles*," with some half a dozen editions between 1658 and 1668. Of special works there was at least one on Barbadoes (1657), another on Jamaica (1657), and, it may be added here, one on Carthagena (1698), and one on the Isthmus (1699).

Most numerous, however, of the illustrated books within the period now reviewed, were the Accounts and Collections of Voyages. Again it appears that while there were a great many volumes, and indeed many works, the amount of fresh original matter was more seeming than real, for several of the works were often reissued, in a number of places also, as well as of languages. The dreary, distant regions of the Straits of Magellan received a large share of attention in the editions of Van Noort (1601-63), of

Schouten (1618-1740), and of Froger (1698-1715.) Thomas Gage told of his adventures to New Spain (1648-1720), and the slight charge of untruthfulness made against him did not lessen his popularity. There was a brisk demand for Linschoten's "Navigation" with its large, striking and apparently life-like plates.

While the Pilgrim Fathers were trying to escape starvation in their first dismal year at Plymouth, there appeared one of the most curious books in Illustrated Americana. Don Honorius Philoponus was the author's literary name. It is "one of the impudentest books known," said Henry Stevens. "Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio" is the beginning of the title, which, freely translated by aid of some of the text, means Gulliver's Travels as sober History.

Works full of the marvellous or exciting are apt to be liked, as was shown by Varthema's "Itinerary," that had a run of a hundred and fifty years and got at last into Dutch, with plates, and, we are told, was almost as great a favorite as Robinson Crusoe. So also was Hans Staden's "Cannibals," mentioned in the previous paper, that ran from 1556, with unexhausted charms, to Charles II.'s time. Later, and even longer-lived, was the story of the stirring part in American affairs performed by the Buccaneers, told by Exquemelin, and almost invariably more or less illustrated in the many editions. Dutch, 1678; Spanish, 1681; English, 1684; French, 1686; it has found publishers even into the present century.

The South Sea Bubble was notable enough in American history to furnish a good deal of matter for writers and printers in various places, but the engravers who treated the subject were Dutch. "Het Groote Taferel," a folio, 1720, with sixty large copper-plates shows that Panama enterprise of its day, with its promoters and dupes, in a satirical, forcible, and sometimes far from decorous manner.

Scientific works, as we can fairly call them, increased in number and in size during this period. There were several

large and remarkable folios and quartos on Botany that would be thought great productions in our day. On the human portion of Natural History there was not as much, neither was there on religious history. Ceremonies and costumes were shown in Picart's great folios; scenes in the life of a saint in the History of Santa Rosa de Lima, a 4^o issued, perhaps, in 1701; and the martyrdom of missionaries in Tanner's general work on the Jesuits, considerable space in which is given to America. Anyone who thinks that the earlier plates in Americana prove nothing, should look at those it contains. The engraving is finer than is usually found at this date, and the subjects are very suggestive.

The Americana issued between 1730 and the Revolution was, in general character and distribution of subjects, similar to that produced during a century before 1730. From Greenland to Cape Horn there was scarcely a region of any note overlooked or neglected. Omitting the writer's list of names and editions through the former period, it may be enough to refer here to a few specialties. Natural History, although not excessively treated, received marked attention with interesting results, shown in great folios, wonderful indeed when compared with the little volumes of Monardes published two centuries earlier. Catesby's work relating to Carolina, Florida and the Bahamas, came out at London in 1731, with two hundred colored plates, reissued in superior style in 1754, and again in 1771, with twenty plates added. Eisenberger published a companion work in Latin, with one hundred and nine colored plates, Nuremberg, 1750, and the Dutch added their contribution in the large work of Burmannus, with two hundred and sixty-two plates, 1755-60, an edition of Plumier (1693) much developed. The great earthquake at Lima (1746), was illustrated as well as described. Fortifications, that had for a long while been important features in the more southern parts of America, were, by the French and the English,

made numerous in the north. Interest about them led to the publication of a few books with their plans, books valuable as well as curious. Poetry adorned by plates, fashionable in later times, does not seem to have been very common. There was an example of it in "*La Columbiade*," by Madame Dubocage. Guide-books were not plenty, for travellers were not, yet there were at least three London editions of an abridgment of *Voyages and Histories* entitled the "*American Traveller*," embellished with "neatly engraved" portraits, that did not flatter their originals.

Illustrated books relating to the Revolution had, generally, little of the importance characterizing the political and military events of the war. Maps and plates on sheets, or in solitary seclusion in books were fairly numerous, but both of the parties active in the contest had more serious work. Indeed, Provincials could not, and Englishmen did not, use engraving to any great extent for volumes on the subject, while the French, Germans and others, made only moderate additions to the list. Fewer, smaller, or less vivid, than we wish they were, they yet are interesting and important from their relationship, and deserve a longer description than would be possible in this paper. They are a class by themselves, at some other time, it may be, to be treated by the writer.

About the middle of the last century began a new period in Art, that long continued, when the illustrated book was far more developed. Hitherto it had generally been a volume with plates, more or less scattered, in it. Now it often became a volume largely, or almost exclusively, of plates and often in size far exceeding nearly all its predecessors. In illustrating, the Age of the Giants had come, and America has had no slight amount of their attention.

Piranesi gave the world his profuse, amazing, enormous plates of Roman Antiquities, drawn with boldness and power. Stuart and Revett, on a lesser scale, but with more mathematical nicety, showed Athenian Art in their impe-

rial folios. The larger folios of the first Dresden Gallery presented many a masterpiece of the elder artists. One Voyage Pittoresque, of ponderous bulk, succeeded another, illustrating many a country. Boydell lavished his fortune in presenting the creations of the chief poet of his native land, and Britton, with a devotion we can never praise too much, illustrated, as never before or since they have been, Old England's Cathedrals. Then, hero, we are tempted to say, of all, Baron Taylor consecrated vast labor and resources to France.

In time, America was not to be without such monumental works. Before examining them, let us first make note of the styles of engraving that came into use. All the while since 1493, engraving on wood has been used in Americana, yet work in other forms has by turns also been used. Until the close of the last century, metal plates, chiefly copper, were largely employed. At that date, lithography had been invented and moderately developed, furnishing an easier and cheaper mode that became extensively used after 1825. It gave a great stimulus to the production of illustrated books, especially those of large size, and is very noticeable in those issued between 1830 and 1850. To the present time it has been constantly improved and elaborated. In the earlier part of our century, plates colored by hand were fashionable, and many fine examples were produced. In recent years, printing in polychrome has been made remarkably elaborate, effective and expensive. Still later, reproductive processes have been much used, and have proved useful, and, indeed, important. As in other large classes of illustrated books, all these styles of plates are found in Americana. Marking the advent of the modern book, composed almost exclusively of engravings, as well as the beginning of the Age of the Giants, we find in Illustrated Americana the "Scenographia," London, 1768, now very scarce. It measures 18 by 23½ inches, and contains twenty-eight views in Canada and other British

colonies. Certainly it is of as much historical value as not a few books wholly of text. Six, at least, of the plates, from sketches by Gov. Pownall, appeared in 1761; then others were made, until the whole volume was published as stated.

The two notable pioneers in American copper-plate engraving produced work that we may safely call astonishing. Paul Revere's was chiefly on paper money or on separate sheets, but Norman boldly attempted portraiture and the illustration of books. One of his largest undertakings, also as printer and publisher, was the "Builder's Assistant," a folio with sixty outline plates of Architectural details, Boston, 1786.¹

A sketch of American engraving must be omitted in this paper, and the general fact stated that we were not, for a long while, profusely illustrated by natives or foreigners.

Towards the close of the last century, periodicals, novelties here, appeared with copper-plates, of which "The Massachusetts Magazine," and "The New York Magazine" were notable examples. No great genius was shown in treating imaginative subjects, and if the views of American places and buildings are not as good as we could wish, they are valuable from the scarcity of anything of the sort, and although they are smaller they are about as good as some contemporary plates in English County histories. To some

¹There is probably no more notable example at this period, of an illustrated book produced in America, than the folio Bible "Printed at Worcester, Massachusetts, by Isalah Thomas," 1791. While the Bible has been a very important work in the minds, hearts and history of our countrymen, it can hardly be classed as "Americana." Yet mention of this noble volume should be made here. It has fifty plates, engraved for it. Six are by Samuel Hill, Boston; five by J. Norman; eight by J. H. Seymour; three by Jos. Seymour; twenty by J. Seymour; one is marked "Seymour"; one is by Doolittle, New Haven; and six are without name. A full account of the book is in O'Callaghan's "American Bibles," pp. 38-40.

Two editions of the Bible in large quarto, also illustrated, were, it may be added, the two largest volumes ever produced in the writer's native town. They were printed by Samuel Etheridge, 1803. Seven plates were by James Hill; one was by Doolittle, and one by E. G. Gridley.

extent, engraved coppers, or impressions from them, seem to have been imported. In other cases, European plates were copied.

In the Age of the Giants their works on America came later than those on Europe. It was 1810 when Humboldt's grand atlas folio was issued in Paris, giving, with text, views of the scenery and of the aboriginal monuments in Central America. A superb, double-page, colored view of Chimborazo (16 by 24 inches) is one of the most striking ever made of American scenery. On the same region, Captain Dupaix's great work was published at Paris, in 1834, Waldeck's in 1838, and Catherwood's, at London, in 1850, all with interesting and valuable plates. Philips's Views in Mexico appeared, also at London, in 1848, and between 1830 and that year, the most colossal and costly work on American Antiquities, Lord Kingsborough's, in nine huge folios, with over 1,000 plates. Seldom have enthusiasm, devotion and wealth combined, produced such a work. As is apt to be the case, pecuniary loss ensued, commensurate with the magnitude of the undertaking. At later dates, Mexico, and our war there, have been illustrated by large plates.

Lithography was conspicuously used in these volumes. It was the prevailing style of engraving at this period, and other notable examples appeared in Americana. The first book with such illustration produced on any considerable scale in this country was a quarto published by the city of New York, with an account of the celebration at the opening of the Erie canal, in 1825. Of the fifty-three plates in it, some are, however, not lithographs. Three or four years later, S. Milbert issued at Paris an Itinerary of the Hudson and other parts of the Eastern United States, including a large folio with plates, on India paper. This was followed by similarly illustrated imperial folios—Gaimard and Mayer's "Groenland" (145 plates), Paris, 1842; Smyth's "Canada," London, 1840; Captain Warre's

"Oregon," and large works on Peruvian Antiquities, as Rivero and de Tschudi's book, with fifty-eight plates, Vienna, 1851, and, at a long interval, but best mentioned here, three volumes with one hundred and forty-one plates on the Necropolis of Ancon, Berlin, 1880-87.

Meanwhile, Americans also added large folios, some of them surpassing all others in size and rivalling any in the value of their contents. Such is Audubon's "*Birds of America*" in four elephant folios (27 by 40 inches), London, 1827-30, with four hundred and thirty-five huge colored plates showing even very large birds in their natural size. Throughout the range of illustrated books it would be hard to find any of a grander, costlier, and more monumental character. While the drawings were by an American, some of the engraving was by W. H. Lizars, Edinburgh, and some or all of the printing and coloring by R. Havell, Senior and Junior, well known for their large plates of this style. Audubon's "*Quadrupeds*" followed at New York, 1845, in four atlas folios, smaller than the "*Birds*," yet still very large. There were one hundred and fifty plates lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, Philadelphia (1842-48). Never elsewhere has a race of squirrels, cats, and woodchucks, had such an imposing portrait gallery. A dozen years later Michaux and Nuttall described the Forest Trees of the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia, in five large octavos (Philadelphia, 1859), with two hundred and seventy-seven colored plates showing the leaves. The Ferns of the same regions were illustrated by Eaton, Emerton, and Faxon, in two large quartos, with one hundred plates, also colored (Salem, 1879). In a similar way the Birds of New England and those of the Pacific Coast were also described. On a scale worthy of the Empire State, its Natural History was shown in twenty-one large quartos (Albany and New York, 1842-61), with over seven hundred plates, six hundred and forty of which are finely colored.

While the Flora, the Fauna, the Antiquities, and the Scenery of America were thus presented by Art, and often on a great scale, the unchanged or vanishing Natives were by no means neglected. Colonel T. L. McKinney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Mr. King, a skilful artist, and James Hall, prepared a History of the North American Tribes, with one hundred and twenty exactly colored portraits in three folios (Philadelphia, 1838-44). George Catlin published—and there were several editions—Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the same Indians, with over three hundred steel plates, and also a large folio of Hunting Scenes with twenty-five plates. He seems to have been the Buffalo Bill of his day, for his exhibition of live aborigines made a greater sensation than his books. At the same time Henry R. Schoolcraft, who was born near Albany, was collecting a great amount of information on the same subject, that was published by authority of Congress, in six large quartos (Philadelphia, 1851-57). In them were three hundred and thirty-six plates from sketches by Capt. S. Eastman of the Navy.

The exploration of the vast interior and southwestern regions of our country has been followed by notable results in its history. Much of the exploration and of the illustration of it has been done under the authority of the Government. The surveys for the Mexican Boundary and for the Pacific Railroad furnished subjects for two large publications in quarto, on the former, three volumes, on the latter, thirteen (Washington, 1855-60), with five hundred and twenty-three lithographic plates, many of them colored. More distant regions were also treated, as in the account of the Exploring Expedition, 1845, to the Pacific, and of the Japan Expedition, 1856,—the first with steel plates, in all its parts with over a thousand illustrations, the other with wood cuts and tinted lithographs. These are, however, American books on foreign subjects rather than

illustrated Americana. Foreigners have done much for us—these show what we can do for some of them.

A glance at the works with steel plates turns us back a little in time. Many of the finest date from 1840 and since,—such as Bartlett's quartos on Canada and on the United States, those on Greenwood and Mount Auburn, or, near here, Bowen's Boston (1829), and an Account of the Tremont House (1830).

Engraving on wood has, of late, reached a marvellous development in our country, and has been much used in the class of books treated in this paper. While, of course, there is varying merit or interest in the numberless examples, we find beauty, delicacy, and accuracy, to an extent that well makes us proud of what our countrymen can now accomplish in this already ancient form of Art. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to give any adequately full presentation of this part of its subjects. Yielding to the impossible is the apology for this brief allusion.

No American subject could, however, be more worthy of treatment by American Art than the history, private as well as public, of the great founder of the leading nation in the New World. Irving's, the most notable of any "Life" of Washington is, on large paper (4°, New York, 1859), also one of the handsomest books ever produced in our Country, and a few copies of it have been made some of the most remarkable examples of what are called extra illustrated books—that is, books for which additional plates, often rare or curious, are collected from various sources. Most of such plates are line engravings. Copies like these are no mere scrap-books, but rare and costly additions to historical literature. There are perhaps half a dozen of them and so scarce are the plates, especially the proofs, used, that no more similar copies can perhaps ever be made. Each of them is sufficiently unlike another to make it fairly called unique. The taste for

such volumes is imported, but it has become thoroughly naturalized.¹

In the chronological order of our review we have reached books that are new, or that have not ceased to be novelties, yet that will sometime take their place among the contributions to *Illustrated Americana*, valuable both as evidences of Art in our day, and for representations of important objects. Two examples of such works may be mentioned. Finely made and of high cost, they describe buildings that in a marked way show the national advance in wealth and culture. One of the two, called "*Artistic Homes*," has two hundred plates showing the interiors and Art treasures of many fine houses. The other is a work befitting the most sumptuous residence on this continent—that of Mr. Vanderbilt. There are a hundred plates illustrating it, twenty of them the most elaborate of chromo-lithographs.

Processes for reproducing plates, maps or drawings have been proved to be of decided value for books on geography or antiquities. A very large and widely known work of great importance and interest may properly be considered as the representative one of the *Americana* largely illustrated by means of these recent inventions—"The Narrative and Critical History of America." It is edited, and much of it is written, by a prominent member of this Society—Mr. Winsor—and is a notable addition to the long list of contributions to the annals of our country made by our associates.

One of the processes can be well used for paintings, and has been employed in another notable work, the "*Art Treasures of America*," two very interesting folios with one hundred photogravures.

¹ One of the most assiduous collectors and makers of extra-illustrated *Americana* was Mr. William Menzies, of New York, who (as the writer counts them), had about two hundred and seventy volumes containing 8,000 plates. Other private libraries in that city contain many such books. Members of the Boston Club of Odd Volumes can make a remarkable exhibition as was shown not long ago, and, from a wider area, members of this Society could make another that would speak for itself.

Other publications, with an immense circulation, that are, to some extent, bound and preserved as books, have, within the last half-century—still more within the last twenty years—become important additions to *Illustrated Americana*. Various processes, or kinds of engraving are used in them, and a great many subjects are treated. They are the illustrated papers and magazines, of which it is perhaps safe to say that few of those who prepare or who see them fully realize to what an extent they are—and even more sometime will be—graphic records of our tastes, fashions, ideas, and, indeed, daily life. To conceive what they may become worth we can imagine, if the case were possible, the value we would put on a volume of a good illustrated local paper or magazine issued awhile after the Spaniards were established in Mexico, the French at Quebec, the Dutch on Manhattan, or the English in Boston. Bound volumes of “*Life*,” the writer thinks, have their proper place beside him at the modern end of the long line begun by Bordone, Leon, Thevet, or their elders.

Many features or particulars have been observed in the classes or examples of illustrated books on America in the course of this paper, leading us at the end to certain general estimates of the whole. That they form an important as well as interesting department in the history of two continents, as well as of our own country, is evident. It is a very imperfect conception of the works on the New World that slights them. They include little of the highest art, it may be, yet there are hundreds, thousands indeed, of plates that not merely please the sight or the fancy, but that are distinct contributions to knowledge. Many of these, even the earlier, rival or surpass the contemporary maps in the accuracy or value of the information they preserve. No collection of accounts of the earlier voyages and explorations can approach completeness without including many of them, and this is true in regard to the works on Antiquities, and also, even if to a less extent, in regard to those of not a

few of the historians and of the writers on manners and customs. Of course in forming from books opinions on scenery or Natural History they are indispensable.

The number and character of the cuts and plates afford clear indication of the attention America has attracted—slight for a century, then marked, still later great and widely spread. In earlier times hardly thought worth special efforts of art, at length the New World has had a fair, or what might be called full, recognition, and the subjects it could present for illustration have been treated in a manner that makes *Illustrated Americana* compare not unfavorably, but well, with similar works on other lands.

Nor can we fail to be impressed by another fact. Thinking in our own language, and knowing how widely it is now used, an idea is sometimes held that most of what is called *Americana* is in it. Only a fraction is. Eight languages, at least, make the text of the books mentioned in this paper. Nor is it flattering to conceit, if there is any, in our country, to find that a very large proportion of the illustrated books about us, as well as about other parts of the two continents, are works by foreigners. Even the plates in Audubon's "Birds" were made in England—as we might say they must be at their date—and, for no such reason, some of the illustrations in one of the latest and most superb of peculiarly American books, came from France. All this, however, simply proves that the men who created these books got what they wanted for them where they could get it best. Birds and Vanderbilt House were illustrated as birds and private house have scarcely been illustrated elsewhere. An admirable result was sought and reached. That is what we as a people are securing in not a few things, some of them greater than even *Illustrated Americana*.

NOTE.—Most of the larger public and private collections of books on America contain to some extent the works mentioned in these two papers, but in very few would all, or nearly all, be found. Even the three most remarkable libraries of *Americana*—associated with the names of three members of this Society, Brinley, Brown and Lenox—would together not show everything. Works dat-

ing before 1800 were those chiefly sought. With all its amazing comprehensiveness, the Brinley lacked numbers of the illustrated books—some of them by no means unimportant. In the Brown, which, if more restricted, is still more wonderful, it would be difficult to find an omission of anything issued before 1800. In the Lenox, one of the most magnificent monuments of collecting ever raised by one man, attention was more directed to works in text. It may be fair to add that many of the plates mentioned are in the old house where these papers are written.

ERRATA.—Part I., last line of p. 72 of "Proceedings," "Seville, 1553," refers to the first appearance of C. de Leon's Peru; the edition with cuts is *Anvers*, 1554. Page 73, 2d line should be *Anvers*, and not Seville.

Page 74, 9th line from foot is a typographical error: for Marian read Merian.

THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA.

BY EDWARD G. PORTER.

So few of our countrymen visit Australia that I venture to believe that a paper upon the Aborigines of that country may not be without interest to the members of this Society, even though the subject may seem remote from the province of our ordinary investigations. The continent of America, naturally, furnishes most of the topics for our proceedings, but I have noticed that we have always been friendly toward ethnological and anthropological matters, from whatever quarter they have come. When, therefore, the president kindly invited me to give the Society at this meeting some impressions which I had gathered during my recent journey in the far East, I concluded that I could offer nothing of greater value than some facts, not widely known in this country, which came under my observation during a pleasant sojourn of a few months last year among the antipodes.

I visited all the Australian colonies but one (West Australia), and saw their thriving capitals, many of the interior towns, some of the sheep and cattle stations, the largest gold and tin mines and plenty of the bush and scrub.

It is indeed a wonderful country; wonderful in its extent, its scenery and its products; totally unlike any other part of the world. Nowhere else have I seen tree-ferns forty feet in height, and the proud Eucalyptus towering to an altitude half as high again as our Bunker-Hill monument, considerably exceeding the *Sequoia gigantea* of California. In no other country have I been greeted by such natural curiosities as the kangaroo, the wallaby, the emu,

the platypus, the lyre-bird, the black swan and the laughing jackass.

But while I would gladly dwell upon the strange appearance of the country, its unique *fauna* and *flora*, and the abundant evidences of an imported civilization which is steadily advancing to subdue the continent, my object now is simply to describe that lonely and mysterious race, still found in the land, and, until recently, the only race that could properly be called Australian. That name is now being appropriated, with pardonable pride, by the new occupants of the soil, just as we Americans call ourselves by a name which, ethnologically, belongs to our predecessors, whom we have ousted from their fair domain. It is ever so. The dwellers are supplanted by the intruders; the weak yield to the strong; the savage retires before the civilized.

The traveller who to-day visits Sydney or Melbourne, would not be likely to meet a single representative of the Aborigines any more than he would encounter a red man on the streets of Boston or New York. But there are vast areas in the northern and western, as well as in the yet unexplored central portions of that country, where the original tenant still remains at will. The colonial governments have obtained an approximate estimate of the number of the natives living in the more settled parts, and report a startlingly decreasing number of whom are classed as civilized, being properly disposed of in various cases, earning wages as servants, stockmen or farm-hands. Some are employed as domestic servants and are allowed to camp about the houses of their employers. Lands near the larger towns are divided into sections and sold from time to time at public auctions. Others are bought for at certain stations, and are employed by the government, or by private individuals, in various capacities. Instruction is given to the natives in the various branches of

a common-school education, and in the fundamental principles of Christianity.

A much larger number, it is believed, is still at large in the bush; how many, it is impossible to say. Some experts suggest one hundred thousand, and some a much larger number. Of course there is no means of calculating the probable number at the time the country was first opened, a hundred years ago, but it is well known that there has been a rapid decline wherever the black man has come in contact with the white. In Tasmania, the last representative of the Aborigines of that island died in 1876, —Trucaninni,—a woman, whose skull I saw in the museum at Hobart.

The inquiry naturally arises: Who are these people and where did they come from, and to what branch of the human family do they belong? Much learning and ingenuity have been expended upon the subject without clearing up the mystery which envelops it. Something, however, has been gained. All observers are practically agreed that the race is one of great antiquity, and descended from a common stock. Their physical and mental characteristics, the tribal languages, and certain widely-prevailing customs show this conclusively. Their ancestors probably landed at a remote period in the north or northwest—on the coast of the Timor sea—and gradually spread themselves in three directions,—southwest, south and southeast.

They seem to have had very little intercourse with their island neighbors in the surrounding seas, for they differ radically from them all, whether Maories, Melanesians, Papuans, or Malays. Are they Africans? Many would think so. But the woolly hair, the thick lip and the projecting heel of the negro are wanting. Mr. Curr, one of the recognized authorities, maintains the African theory in part, but says that the negro must have been crossed by some other race, what one he does not venture to suggest.

The Australian, while differing from the African in a few important physical features, resembles him very much in color, size, language, customs and superstitions. He may have had his origin, I think, in some negro type of an early time, before the negro race had developed its present status in Africa. The Australian of to-day may resemble the African of long ago in language and customs even more than the African of to-day does. Wallace inclines to the opinion which several writers have recently held, that these Aborigines may have come from certain hill-tribes in Central India, as there are several physical and linguistic points of resemblance. But this theory has not yet been established.

The Australian is not quite as black as the negro, but rather of a dark chocolate hue. His hair is usually jet black, and curly but not woolly. Men and women wear it of the same length, and often tied in a knot with grass or feathers on the top of the head. The men wear fine bushy beards kept rather short. The forehead is low and receding. The eyebrows are prominent. The eyes deep sunken, the eyelashes long. The pupil is large and black, and the white of the eye is yellowish and often blood-shot. The expression of the eye seemed to me generally soft, lustrous and animated. They have far better sight than we. In fact, all their senses are keener than ours, owing of course to their mode of life. Their nose is flat and triangular, the nostrils are distended, and the septum is often pierced for an ornament or the pipe. Their mouth is large, but adorned with the finest teeth I have ever seen. Their tones of voice are rather harsh, but more musical, I thought, than the average Asiatic's. Their neck is shorter and thicker than ours, as may be seen when they wear our coats and collars. Their skin is soft and velvety. The odor is offensive, but, I should say, not as bad as that of the African. Can any one tell me whether it is true that the gradation of odors is in proportion to the degree of

darkness in the skin? Their legs and arms are slender. The feet are flat and the heel protrudes slightly. They usually pick up things with their toes to save stooping; for, be it remembered, this is a very erect and dignified race. Their movements are easy and graceful, though I noticed a tendency to walk, as savages are supposed to walk, with their toes turned inward, unlike the Javanese, who always walk proudly as if they were actors on the stage.

The average height of the Australian is less than the English but more than the French. He is much less muscular than either. The women usually have small limbs, a prominent abdomen and hanging breasts. The old women, I must say, are veritable hags. Their little children are pretty, but they soon outgrow their charms. A woman will seldom have more than three or four children. They are weaned late, and occasionally one is seen nursing at the same time with a younger member of the same happy family. Childbirth, it is said, causes but little trouble among them. Infanticide is common for various reasons; but the mother generally seems fond of her child, protects it, sings to it rudely, and carries it about in a basket or on her shoulder, though sometimes, it must be said, she takes it up by the legs as we do a chicken. As a race they are all short-lived, seldom exceeding the age of fifty years. Half-castes are not uncommon in the white settlements. They resemble the native mother more than the European father. They are considered, however, more capable and promising than the ordinary blacks.

The Australians differ widely from other races in their mode of life. They have never cultivated the soil, never reared cattle, nor kept domestic animals, except their mangy, half-starved dingo dog. They have never built permanent dwellings; have never boiled water for cooking; never have manufactured anything except their weapons, a few ornaments and the scantiest kind of clothing. They have never even had idols or sacrifices or any form of di-

vine worship. I doubt if there is another race on the face of the earth, unless it be the Terra del Fuegians, who have developed so few of the attributes of our common humanity.

For food, these people have always depended upon such animal and vegetable products as nature furnished ready at hand. Their menu is extensive and their taste by no means epicurean. The choicest of their viands is the opossum, though they never scorn the wallaby, or the kangaroo, when they can get it. They will eat all manner of birds from the emu down to the wren. Fish of all kinds and water-fowl, turtles and frogs, lizards and snakes, are ranked among the staples. And, for side-dishes, they relish worms, grasshoppers, grubs, caterpillars, ants, moths, and maggots. Their vegetable courses are not so varied, but include leaves, herbs, grasses, *fungi* and the roots of bulrushes and wild yams. Their only drink is water which they sometimes mix with honey.

The whole race is tainted with cannibalism, though the practice disappears wherever the country is settled by the whites. In the North and West it prevails, although I believe not to the extent that is generally supposed. Its origin may be traced to a scarcity of food; and who shall say that any race, under the prolonged pressure of famine, would be exempt from the temptation, horrible as it is! We know that some of the escaped British convicts from Botany Bay, roaming in the bush for months, and failing to find ordinary food sufficient to sustain life, have found themselves compelled to cast the fatal lot and select a victim of their own number to save the remainder from starvation. So far as I could learn, the native Australians hold the custom in reserve for emergencies. Lumholtz, the plucky Norwegian naturalist, who has just spent four years in Queensland, chiefly on the Herbert river, has given his book the rather sensational title, "*Among Cannibals*," yet he does not record a single instance of the practice as having fallen under his own eye. No doubt these

poor children of nature would seek to conceal such things from any white man, and in ordinary times they would not be driven to the necessity of feeding upon human flesh. With rare exceptions, they do not eat any of their own tribe, but only their enemies. It is said that the white man is not very palatable to them, being too salt for their taste, while the Chinaman, whose food is chiefly rice, makes a very acceptable meal. They roast or broil their meat on hot ashes, skin and all, and eat it by tearing the flesh with their fingers and teeth, devouring everything but the bones. Sometimes a kangaroo or emu is roasted whole. Hot stones are then placed inside the animal and as it is turned on the fire, they roll about and give it an effectual grilling. Green grass is often placed on the ashes to protect the food. The teeth of many old people are worn to the gums by the inevitable grinding of so much dirt with their food. The whole process of eating reminded me of a political barbecue or a Rhode Island clam-bake.

The old way of obtaining fire was by the friction of two sticks—usually of grass-wood (*xanthorrhæa*) twelve to fourteen inches long. Using one as a drill, they could easily bore a hole through the other and catch the sparks upon dry bark or leaves. This operation requires great care to keep up a steady friction and prevent the chilling of the wood. Faraday, referring to this in one of his lectures, said he had never succeeded in the attempt, nor had he ever heard of a white man who had done so. The natives delight in the crack of our matches when they can get them. In removing from one camp to another, the women usually carry the fire-stick. They always keep a fire burning in front of their tents, which open on the lee side, and squat around it at meal-time and through the evening. When sticks require to be broken, the average blackfellow will break them, not over his knee, as we should, but over his head.

Their huts—or *gunyahs*, as they are often called—are easily put together in a single hour on the approach of cold weather or the rainy season. A ridge-pole is supported by forked sticks, and boughs or sheets of bark or opossum skins are spread over it. One room answers for the whole family, and they are usually very social when together. They talk, laugh, tell stories, and sing in a melancholy way after a fashion all their own, chiefly in half tones, very high and then very low. Nothing escapes their observation. Many a good joke is enjoyed at the expense of some white person. During the day, the men may often be seen giving lessons to the small boys in the art of throwing the spear or the boomerang. The women—called *lubras* or *gins*—keep by themselves most of the time. They have to do the hard work, grubbing with yam-sticks for roots, carrying their children—whom they call *piccaninies*—on their shoulders, and bringing in the daily supplies in rude baskets. The young women often decorate their hair with beeswax and feathers and cockatoo crests. They usually wear a girdle of leaves or feathers, and sometimes they adorn themselves with our civilized trinkets, such as necklaces, combs and mirrors, when they can get them. Any single article of our clothing they will don with great pride and consider it full dress. One of their noted women, Queen Gooseberry, the widow of King Bungaree, was often seen by the colonists with nothing on but an old straw bonnet and a waist-cloth. Three black-fellows were engaged by a friend of mine to work on a farm, and when they arrived, they had one boot, an old cravat and a waistcoat between them. Whatever clothing they get from the whites, they will wear in turn, each one of the tribe claiming a share of it. Both sexes scarify their bodies, punch the nose, and anoint themselves with 'possum fat and red ochre. The tattooing is done by cutting parallel gashes across the chest, shoulders and back, and blowing wood-ashes into the wounds, which then swell into



ASCENT OF A TREE.

FROM A SKETCH BY JOHN F. MANN.

permanent ridges. Sometimes they let ants walk about in the sores thus created. Such flesh marks are supposed to indicate rank.

These curious people dread the rain and will huddle together, whenever it comes, under any obtainable shelter; yet in the North, they are very fond of bathing. They can all swim and dive, even the little children, and often they remain a long time under water. One of their tricks to escape observation, when pursued, is to lie down at the bottom, with one end of a hollow reed in the mouth and the other end above the surface. They are naturally very skilful in spearing fish under water. In the South, where the weather is colder, they do not take to the water so readily, and in fact they are very filthy for the want of it.

Their canoes are made of sheets of bark eight to twelve feet long, about three feet wide and eight inches deep, and are held open by cross-sticks. They draw but a few inches of water and yet will carry a very considerable load. Having no keel they overturn easily. The natives never venture far out at sea. If pursued by sharks, they paddle away with all their might for the nearest shore, throwing out as they go, any fish they happen to have.

Nothing in Australia interested me more than the tree-climbing. These sons of the forest have always depended upon the trees for many of their supplies, such as bark, *fungi*, bird's eggs and opossums. Often the lowest branches of the gum-trees will be fifty to eighty feet above the ground, and the trunk will measure twenty feet or more in girth, so that it cannot be grasped with the arms like the palm-trees of India. The Australian, however, always finds a way to do what he wishes, and armed with nothing but his trusty stone hatchet, and perhaps with a 'possum-belt he will cut notches an inch or two deep, step by step, two for his hands and two for his feet, and ascend with surprising rapidity, by hugging the tree very closely and inserting his fingers and toes in the notches.

It would be a perilous thing for any white man to undertake. Sometimes the blacks use a long vine-rope, which is passed around the tree and held tightly as a support in climbing. Accidents seldom happen among these born gymnasts. There are no keener observers of nature. A broken twig, a displaced stone, notched trees or crushed grass will be sure to reveal to them the presence of food of some kind. Sometimes their instinct comes too near home to be agreeable to the English squatter. Once when encouraged to plant potatoes, the blackfellows went out in the night and dug up the seed and ate it. When expostulated with, their only reply was "Why bury good food?" They never have had any idea of agriculture.

Some of their weapons are unique and ingenious, especially the boomerang, which has obtained a wide celebrity. It is a wooden blade, shaped something like a scimitar, curved in its own plane, from sixteen to thirty odd inches in length, and from an inch and a half to three inches in width. One side is plane, the other slightly convex. The edges are sharp and the cusps rounded or slightly pointed. The lower end is cross-grooved to aid in holding it. The boomerang is cut from the natural bend of the heavy iron-wood tree, and scraped down to the required thickness by the use of sharp stones. The curve often approaches a right angle and must lie in the wood itself.

I could only admire the dexterity of the native youths in hurling this their favorite weapon. Holding it in the right hand, with the flat side down and the concave side forward, the thrower will gracefully take his aim, and then, with a run and a shout, he will fling his missile with all his might off into the air. Up and away it goes to a great height, like a bird with wings expanded. Sometimes, revolving on its axis, it describes a great circle; or it may take opposite directions, or even remain for a moment stationary. It can be made to *ricochet*, and to spin against the wind, and to return and strike a designated object near the start-

ing-point. No one but the thrower knows where it will hit. It may be hurled with killing effect into a flock of pigeons or ducks. I heard of an instance at one of the camps in which the projectile came in contact with a gentleman's hat and cut it off as clean as a razor would have done. He was fortunate to escape with his head. Sometimes after striking the ground, it will ascend again. Heavy boomerangs may be thrown low so as to roll like a wheel along the ground with such force as to knock over a man or a kangaroo. They often come in contact with an object without being arrested and will fly off at a tangent with apparently undiminished force. I have never seen any two of these strange weapons exactly alike. Every native knows the quality of his own boomerang, and will practice a long time with a new one to be sure of getting familiar with its peculiarities.

The boomerang has perplexed many learned mathematicians in Australia and Europe. Several German observers are now trying to discover the secret of its curious flight. Herr Froebel, a manufacturer of toy boomerangs in Weimar, claims that the curve must be broken near the middle, leaving two arms of unequal length, in the proportion of 4 to 5. The longer arm must be pared down so as exactly to balance the shorter one.

It is remarkable that so rude a race should have discovered such an occult principle as seems to be lodged in this unique weapon. One thinks of the old myth of Thor's hammer returning to the hands of its thrower, but there can be no possible connection between the Norse warriors and the Australian savages. Some writers have suggested that the throwing-stick of the Dravidians in India was the same as the boomerang, but Brough Smyth discredits the idea, and says that the Australian weapon has no duplicate in history.

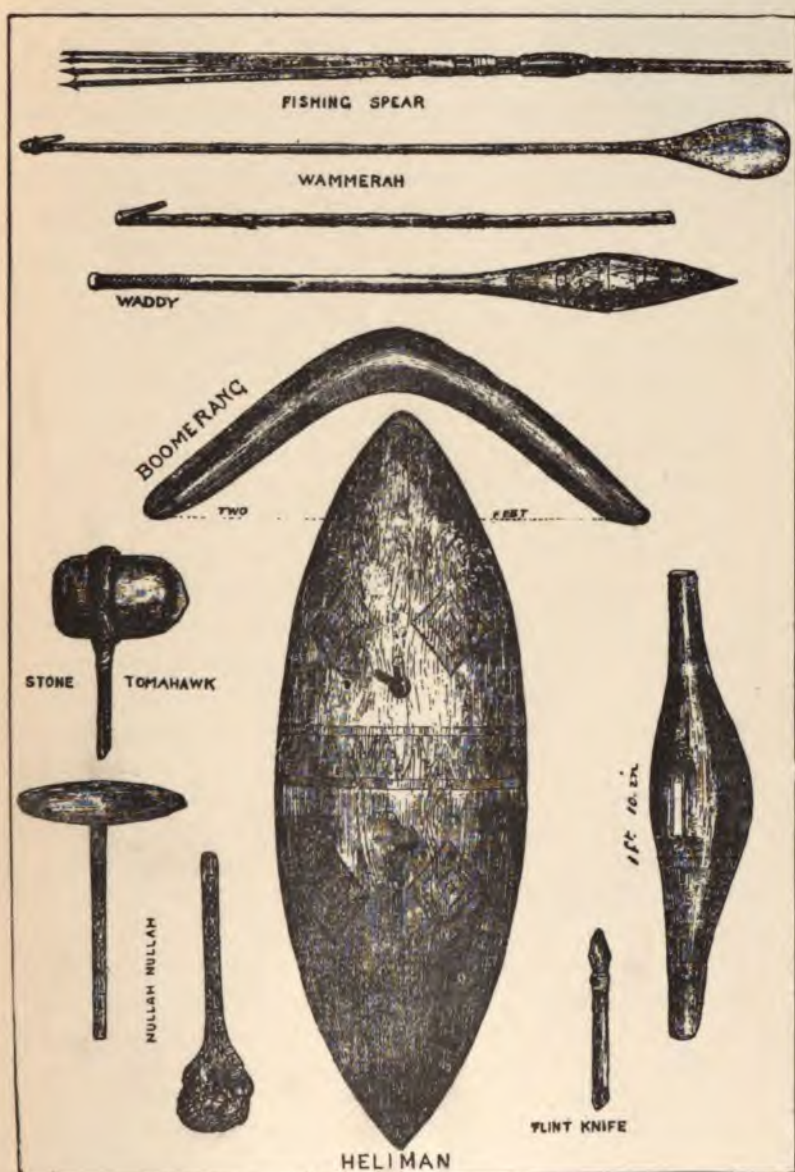
The Aborigines never knew the use of the bow and arrow, but the spear and *wammera*, or throwing-stick,

appear to have been a very good substitute. The spear is made in a variety of ways. For war purposes, it is eight or ten feet long and weighs about four pounds. Sometimes it is barbed out of the solid wood and sometimes tipped with flint or quartz. Such a spear can be thrown seventy feet. For the chase, a lighter kind is made, which can easily be thrown one hundred, or even one hundred and fifty feet. The spear is hurled with great effect by means of the *wammera*, a stick about three feet long and shaped something like a long-handled spoon, the spoon part being rather flat and frequently used as a paddle when fishing from a canoe. By this simple gun-like contrivance, the spear is thrown with unerring aim, but it is eluded in war with surprising ease by the agility of the enemy, and by the skilful use of the shield.

One of the recognized punishments among the tribes is the "ordeal of spears." The culprit, condemned for a certain crime, is obliged to stand off at a distance, perfectly nude, but armed with a shield, and there receive from twenty to fifty spears, according to the nature of his offence. The spears are thrown only one at a time, but in such rapid succession that the unfortunate victim has little breathing space between. Yet ordinarily he will dodge the spears or receive them on his shield with marvellous facility. Sometimes the shots are fatal, but when a fellow undergoes the ordeal in safety, he is completely absolved, and elevated to a higher rank than he had before.

So accustomed are the blacks to the use of the spear on all occasions, that they think they have a right to try it upon anything that crosses their path, whether it be wild or tame. So they instinctively let fly at wallaby or sheep, emu or chickens, and often to the great discomfiture of the English settlers. Women never use the spear.

The common shield, or *heliman*, is a stout sheet of wood, oval-shaped, about three feet long and half as broad, and three-fourths of an inch thick, usually retaining the natu-



ABORIGINAL IMPLEMENTS.

DRAWN BY JOHN F. MANN.

ral curve of the tree. A *heliman* that has stood the test of spears without splitting is considered a great acquisition. It is often painted grotesquely with a device remotely suggesting a coat-of-arms.

One of their most useful implements is the stone hatchet or tomahawk, which is always at hand. The edge is obtained by striking off flakes and grinding upon rocky ledges. The handle is either a split stick, or a bundle of twigs twisted together and secured by grass-tree gum and fibre twine. No axes with holes in them have ever been found. This is the ordinary tool for making spears, shields, boomerangs and clubs, for stripping bark and cutting 'possums out of the trees, and for many other everyday conveniences of savage life, but it is seldom used in battle.

The common meat-knife is made of a flat piece of wood with sharp pieces of quartz fastened to the edge. Their cutting-tools are mostly of flint and shells. They cut their hair with clam-shells or sharp stones, or, quite as often, burn it off with a firebrand.

In addition to the spear and the boomerang, their common weapons are the *waddy* and the *nulla nulla*. These are stout, big-headed clubs of the toughest wood, resembling somewhat the celebrated "morning-star" of the Middle Ages in Europe, and, I should say, equally effective in a hand-to-hand fight. They are sometimes thrown at game on the hunt. I have also seen the two-handed broad-sword of hard wood, about five inches wide and very long. The women are expected to gather up the weapons, and to protect a fallen warrior.

The blacks in their primitive condition are fortunately not often sick, but when they adopt the habits of civilized people, they succumb to many serious troubles. They will perspire in woolen blankets all day to keep up appearances, and then at night, when they need them, they will cast them aside and enjoy the luxury of sleeping in the old-

fashioned way, naked. And so they get cold, and contract fever, pneumonia or rheumatism, and may often be said, literally, to die of blankets. They are generally kind to their sick, and acquainted with the properties of certain herbs and roots. Many ailments are relieved by rubbing the body with the astringent sap of the bloodwood tree. A counter-irritation is readily obtained by having the patient stand on an ant-hill for a few minutes.

The Medicine-man, or "Kooradgee" as he is called, often fills his mouth with water and spurts it over the sore part. One of their favorite prescriptions for a man with a diseased limb is to sit with it buried in the ground until he recovers. Fortunately their wounds heal rapidly. The Kooradgee enjoys special consideration among the tribes, and cases of dispute are referred to him as umpire. He is regarded as a conjurer or wizard, and usually he carries a rock crystal in his armpit, rolled up in dirty rags. This charm is sacred in their eyes, and no woman is allowed to look upon it. Any good piece of cut glass, like the stopper of a decanter, will suit them just as well. Their surgery, it need hardly be said, is of the rudest kind, but of great account in the practice of two mysterious ceremonies universal among these people; one, which confers the status of manhood, and the other, sometimes called *mika*, a terrible rite, described by Eyre, Lumboltz and others, designed to prevent an increase of the population.

From all that we can gather, the life of a young man must be far from happy in those camps. He has to be initiated into all the mysteries of war, religion and the chase by undergoing a severe ordeal called the *bora*. He has to prove his ability by abstaining from food, by publicly throwing the spear and the boomerang, by climbing the tall Eucalyptus, and by having his two upper front teeth knocked out with a tomahawk. Until this is done, he has no social position.

The Aborigines have a very popular entertainment called *corroboree*, which I believe is not known elsewhere. The spectacle takes place only at night, and embraces music, dancing and the drama. Men are the chief performers, though women often act as musicians. A level spot is chosen, and faggots and leaves are piled up all around and set on fire, to throw a bright light upon the scene. The dancers decorate their bodies fantastically with elaborate designs in pipe clay, and brandish their weapons vigorously. They spring from the ground, spread their knees and draw up their legs like a jumping-jack, so that the soles of their feet touch each other, then they all come to the ground simultaneously with a heavy thud.

Their songs resemble somewhat those that are heard in Asiatic countries, and consist chiefly of monotonous and plaintive repetitions. Their tunes are, to my ears, less guttural and more harmonious than those of the Turk, or Arab. Several of their songs, including the *Koorinda Bria* have been set to music by the late Mr. Nathan. I shall not soon forget their pleasant *cooey* signal—a loud, clear call from the throat—which can be heard at a great distance. It suggested to my mind the *iodel* of the Tyrolese, or, still more, the sweet *barcarolle* of the Dalmatians. The rising or falling of the last note indicates which one shall wait for the other. Their hearing, like all their other senses, is very acute. They will detect the presence of game or water like a dog. They find their way straight through the bush with marvellous facility where a white man would be bewildered or lost.

The different tribes are in the habit of sending messengers to each other at certain intervals to convey or obtain information. The message is carved in signs on a stick, and carried in a netted band which is worn around the head. The messenger's life is sacred in peace or war. He is generally one of the older men. Light-bodied widowers are said to be especially eligible to the office. They serve

without pay and are always treated with marked civility. They travel fifty or a hundred miles, and are absent perhaps a month or more. In approaching a camp, the messenger advances cautiously, and when within forty or fifty yards, he sits down in solemn silence until one of the tribe to which he comes, lights a fire. This is a sign of hospitality, and they begin to draw nearer together and exchange courtesies and receive communications.

The Australians have no written language. Bleek divided their various dialects into three general divisions. Northern, Southern and Tasmanian. The Southern is the best known through the proximity of European settlements and the study of the missionaries. Of the Northern, we know, as yet, very little, and the Tasmanian has ceased altogether. The grammar is somewhat developed, but the verb is wanting in most of them, and there is no vocabulary for expressing general or abstract ideas. There are sufficient resemblances among them to show a common origin. Along the Murray and Darling rivers, substantially one language is spoken, but in the mountain sections of New South Wales, there are many distinct dialects.

The names of places and things struck me as often very euphonious; e. g., *Paramatta*, *Illawarra*, *Terriboo*, *Larra*, *Yandilla*, *Bundara*, *Mooramoorra*, *Yara Yara*, *Wallaroo*. It is amusing to notice how the English, here as in India and China, have distorted some of the native names, as *Eurobodalla*—a really beautiful word—shortened into *Bodalla*, to which there might be no objection, but when the change goes on and we hear the colonists speaking of “Boat Alley,” the pedigree of the word would hardly be recognized. The blacks, however, it must be confessed, have equal difficulty with our English words; e. g., Cape Howe they call “Gabo,” and windmill, “wooloomooloo.”

Their numerals are very limited, hardly exceeding three. When they wish to express a higher number the word is

repeated, and the fingers are freely used. Thus on the Northeast coast *bolworra* is the word for two. This is shortened into *bulla*, and *bulla bulla* means more than two, perhaps half a dozen. *Cowal* means plenty, and *cowal cowal* a great abundance.

The religion of these poor savages is very obscure. Those who have studied them the most assert that they have no knowledge of the existence of a Supreme Being and hardly any of a future life, and no idea of worship or sacrifice, or even idolatry. But they believe in an Evil Spirit which, when talking to the whites, they call "devil devil," and which they fear as malicious, cruel and vindictive. They have various ways of describing him. They say he has countless eyes and ears, runs very fast, has sharp claws, and spares neither old nor young. They often change their camp to evade this dreadful enemy. Some old men are credited with having had personal encounters with him, and are consequently held in great reverence. Christianity has obtained but a slight foothold among them, owing partly to their extreme degradation, and partly, I fear, to the deplorable effects of their contact with unprincipled whites, who have abused them in many ways, inflamed them with liquor, and taught them all the vices that infest our civilization. The half-castes are stronger, physically and mentally, than the pure blacks, and as might be expected, acquire our habits and faith more readily. They are relatively numerous, and efforts are being made to merge them into the general population.

The natives never speak of their dead, so they have no history; not even myths or legends. The oldest man they can remember they consider to have been the first man. The dead are disposed of in various ways. The body is sometimes wrapped in bark or skins, and put under heavy stones, or on a high framework of sticks, as a protection against dogs. Sometimes it is placed in a hollow tree and

sealed up with clay. Sometimes it is buried and sometimes burned. Occasionally it is dried into a kind of mummy, in the sun or over a slow fire, and carried about with the tribe or left in some lonely spot. The mourning lasts for a few days only. The skull is often preserved as a drinking cup. Those natives who have had much acquaintance with the colonists are now inclined to bury their dead, and they have mingled a little Christianity with a good deal of ambition when they say, as I have heard, "Blackfellow go in ground, come up whitefellow."

In a few localities near the salt water, mounds are seen covered with earth, and evidently old. When excavated, they are found to consist of oyster and mussel shells.

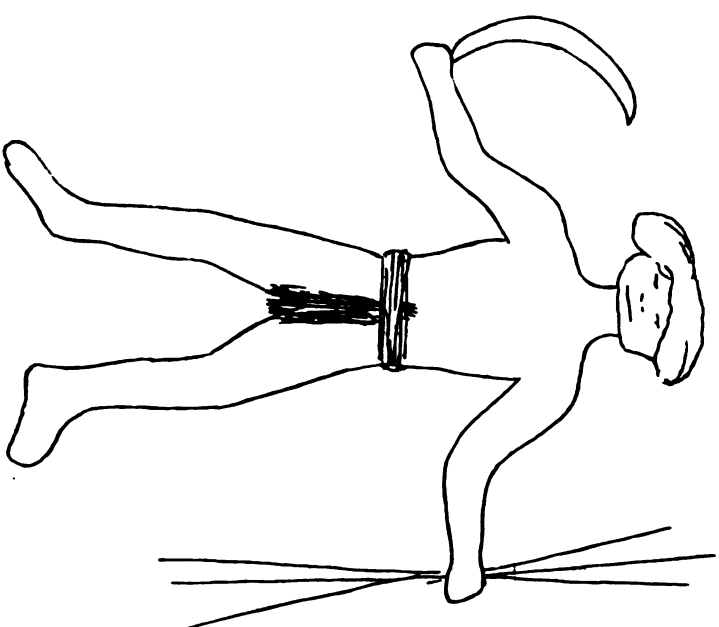
Their rock-carvings, so called, are only outline sketches of men, fish, animals, &c. They are sometimes seen on the top of large, flat rocks. There is no symbolism or mystery, I think, to be attached to them.

These strange people have no marriage laws. Wives are obtained by strategem, purchase or abduction, and readily exchanged on occasions. Polygamy is common among all the tribes; but consanguineous marriages they abhor. Kissing is as rare as in Asiatic countries. A mother will show her affection for her child, not by kissing but by smelling it. A family clan numbers from twenty to thirty; a tribe, ordinarily, from two hundred to three hundred. The tribal affairs are managed by a council of the older men.

Mr. Curr, who has studied the Australians closely, says they cannot be raised to our civilization in one or two generations, but might, possibly, after a continuous training for a long period. They are keener and more observant, he says, than the European peasant. They have the qualities of young children; are fond of pictures and stories; are easily pleased or troubled; are wild from habit, capricious, humorous, improvident, and live without much thought or reason. Their lack of moral restraint has involved them in many sufferings at the hands of the rough whites. Much of



ABORIGINAL DRAWINGS.
 SYDNEY COMMON.



ON A ROCK BETWEEN BRISBANE WATER
 AND
 HAWKESBURY RIVER.

the mischief charged upon the natives might easily be traced to the brutal conduct of 'ex-convicts and others, who have often treated them like dogs, and shot them down without the slightest cause.

Eyre and Sturt and Grey give many instances of their honesty, justice and humanity. As for treachery and cunning, they are in the breast of every savage, and are regarded as cardinal virtues—lawful weapons, offensive and defensive. But in judging of them, we must remember that these qualities are not yet wholly rooted out of our civilized races.

The colonial governments have provided liberally for the protection of the Aborigines. A special department watches over their interests, and distributes rations, clothing and medicines. Large reservations have been set apart for them, amounting in South Australia alone to 670,000 acres. In Victoria, there are two government and four mission stations. These mission stations, or farms, are supported by voluntary contributions, and furnish educational, religious and industrial instruction for considerable numbers of blacks, old and young. They live in neat cottages, do their own work, enjoy a good degree of freedom, and are subject to friendly and wholesome christian discipline. The old people make baskets and mats, and sometimes carve wooden objects. The strong men work on the farm and the children attend school. The regulations are enforced by the superintendent, who lives with his family at the station, and exercises a strong personal influence over the whole establishment. They all pick up English enough to understand the requirements of daily life. They are disinclined to severe labor, but when wisely managed, they do very well at repairing buildings and fences, making roads, raising crops, shearing sheep and tending cattle. They are particularly fond of horses and ride like born cavaliers. The children show a fair interest in their lessons, and I

thought their writing-books as good as the average in our own schools. They are all fond of holidays, and often get special favors in that direction as a reward for good conduct. They can run and hurrah, and play football, marbles and leap-frog as well as any boys in the world. There is, however, always a tinge of wild blood in their veins which cannot be eradicated. I have heard of instances in which young persons, who had received a good christian training for years, and were even admitted to the communion of the Church, who yet after all, under the strange spell of heredity, would secretly throw away their clothes and take to the bush and disappear from the white settlements altogether.

The extinction of the Aborigines may be delayed in some quarters for a time, but it is sure to come. They are steadily fading away before the touch of the invading Briton. Large as Australia is, it is not large enough for these two races to exist side by side. The stronger has come to stay. The weaker will have to go.

THE EARLY COLLEGE BUILDINGS AT CAMBRIDGE.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

IN College Book Number Three of the Records of Harvard College, the following entry occurs, probably in the hand of Thomas Danforth :¹

“Mr. Nathaniel Eaton was chosen Professor of the said school in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, to whom the care and management of the donations before-mentioned were intrusted, for the erecting of such edifices as were meet and necessary for a College and for his own lodgings, an account whereof is as followeth.”

Then follows a brief statement of account, in which charges are made for setting up the frame of the building ; for digging the cellar ; for fencing the yard with pales six and one-half feet high ; for chimneys ; for iron casements ; for part of the frame of an outhouse ; for felling, squaring and loading lumber ; for bricks provided and laid in place ; for lime to be burnt for the College ; for cedar boards, and for additions to the frame already raised.

Succeeding this there is another entry to the effect that after Eaton's removal from this trust, “The charge of carrying on the building begun by Mr. Eaton was then committed to the management of Mr. Samuel Shepard and the College Book was put in his hands.”

In Shepard's account which comes after this entry,² we find charges for clapboards, lime, hair, stone, and for workmen, including specific charges for brickmakers, bricklayers, a smith, and a plasterer.

Quincy quotes these entries at length in his appendix but attempts no description of the building. He confines

¹ Quoted by Quincy, I., p. 452.

² Quoted by Quincy, I., p. 453.

himself to the statement that it was begun under the superintendence of Eaton, and the work was carried on thereafter by Samuel Shepard. He then refers to the petitions to the General Court for aid to keep the building in repair, which, after the lapse of a few years, Dunster found himself from time to time compelled to present. Peirce in his *History of the College*, collated the references to the building by contemporaneous writers.¹ Since that time, the same ground has been worked by others, and their labors have been placed before the public in such form that we are enabled at a glance to see what has been given to the world concerning this interesting building.²

For the purpose of bringing before your eyes what we can gather from the writings of those who themselves saw the building, I transcribe a few extracts.

The author of "*New England's First Fruits*,"³ says: "The edifice is very fair and comely, within and without, having in it a spacious hall, where they daily meet at commons, lectures, and exercises, and a large library with some books in it, the gifts of divers of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for and possessed by the students, and all other rooms and offices necessary and convenient with all needful offices thereto belonging."

Johnson, in his "*Wonder-Working Providence*" helps us a little.⁴ Cambridge, he says in one place, was like a

¹ Peirce's *History of Harvard College*, appendix.

² A paper by Dr. Oliver on a rare picture of the College buildings was read before the Mass. Hist. Soc., and published in their *Proceedings*, Vol. XVIII., p. 321, *et seq.* The value of this interesting paper was much increased by memoranda contributed by the late Charles Deane, LL.D., concerning the early buildings. Dr. Deane added to the references already collected by Peirce, new and interesting material.

Much information may also be gained by consulting Sibley's *Graduates*.

A Key to the sources of information is furnished in Professor Hart's Paper in No. 2. Vol. II., *Harvard Monthly*, April, 1886, entitled "What do we know about John Harvard?"

³ Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 242.

⁴ Poole's Edition, p. 164.

bowling green, and elsewhere he states that the College itself was a "fair building," "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a college."

Winthrop records in his diary, that in 1642, most of the magistrates and elders dined at the College,¹ and again, in 1643, the Synod met at Cambridge,² about fifty being present, and "they sat in commons and had their diet there after the manner of the scholar's commons but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence a meal for a person."

The record of a meeting of the "Governours of Harvard College" is entered in Book I. of the College Records. Quincy gives a fac-simile facing page 48 in his first volume. This meeting was held in the College Hall, December 10th, 1643.

Edward Randolph, King's Commissioner, in his report on colonial affairs, to the Privy Council,³ in 1676, says: "There are three Colleges built in Cambridge, a town seven miles from Boston. One built of timber and covered with shingles of cedar, at the charge of Mr. Harvard, and bears his name. A small brick building called the Indian College, where some few Indians did study, but now converted to a Printing house. New College, built at public charge, is a fair pile of brick building and covered with tiles, by reason of the late Indian war not quite finished. It contains twenty chambers for students, two studies in a chamber, a large hall, which serves for a chapel, one that is a convenient library with some few books of the ancient fathers and school divines."

¹ Winthrop's New England, II., p. 87.

² Winthrop's New England, II., p. 136.

³ Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church—Edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D., III., p. 22. Randolph's report is also given as the report of "E. R." in the Hutchinson Papers, p. 501. The quotation in the text is from the first citation.

Hubbard, in 1679, merely refers to the first building in the past tense.

Dankers and Sluyter, who visited Cambridge in 1680, and to whose report we are indebted for a glimpse at the lack of discipline which prevailed under President Oakes, make no mention whatever of the building.¹

Cotton Mather, writing in 1702, merely states that the name of the new college and the old one are identical.

It is my purpose before I conclude, to analyze the foregoing extracts, in order that we may note the contributions of the several writers towards the reconstruction of the lost building, and that we may measure the value of inferences which are to be drawn from neglect of mention. Before making this analysis, I wish to introduce certain references to the building contained in the records of the College. It may be well, however, before leaving this branch of the subject to call attention to one other reference made in a contemporary publication. Ogilby,² in his *America*, published in 1670, says there were two Colleges at Cambridge, "The first called Harvard College, from Mr. John Harvard, who, at his death, gave a thousand pounds to it, to the other, Mr. John Harnes was the chief benefactor." This work makes no pretence of being anything but a collection of extracts from the writings of others. Johnson in his "Wonder Working Providence" alludes twice to the College. Once the printers read his manuscript correctly and John Harvard received proper credit³ but the other allu-

¹ *Memoirs L. I. Hist. Soc.*, I., p. 384.

² Ogilby, p. 160.

³ This statement ought perhaps to be qualified. Page 61, Poole's edition, the name is given as "Harver." There is no difficulty in recognizing the name under this method of spelling. Page 165, *ibid*, the name of the benefactor of the College becomes "Harnes."

Still another change was rung upon the name in *Good News from New England*, 1648, where the name is converted into "Harves."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4 S. I., 216.

sion was misinterpreted and the name was converted into Harnes. Hence Ogilby's two colleges.

If we turn now to the College records, we shall find there a few entries which will add somewhat to the scant information concerning the original College building at Cambridge, which we have found scattered through contemporary publications.

In College Book, Number One, there is a copy of a bill for glass, rendered by Christopher Grant, of Watertown, bearing date, March 5, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$. Charges are made for glass furnished in the hall and school, the library, the kitchen, the chamber over the school, the lanthorn, the turret, the staircase, the hall study, and in six other studies and eight chambers designated by the names of occupants. The total of the bill at 10^d per foot, including a charge for "mending glass at several times and what was forgot," came to £15, 16^s, 4^d.

There are in the same book numerous entries relating to the expense of finishing the several studies and chambers of the College building. The different apartments are designated by the names of the tenants, and the finish of the several rooms varied in character and expense. No explanation is given for this method of designating the rooms. A natural interpretation would be that each student became responsible for the completion of the apartment which he occupied, using his discretion as to the character of the work. This would account for the difference in the expenditures made upon the several rooms, and would explain why it became necessary for the College to keep a separate memorandum of the expenses incurred in each apartment. It would also explain why the apartments were designated by the names of occupants.

A few extracts taken from these accounts will show how some of the rooms in the building were finished.

The charges on "Sir Bulkley's study" were as follows :

Imps	For plankes	£ 0,, 16,, 0	This Study let to Sir Amos, December 1645 :
it	To ye joyner	0,, 17,, 10	
it	For hinges, lock & nayles	0,, 7,, 4	
it	For glasse	2,, 6	
it	For dawbing ye walles	0,, 6	
		<hr/>	
		2,, 4,, 2	
it	Ye charges of ye chamber belonging yereto	13,, 4	
<p>℞ me Johannem Bulkleyeum Novem. 17, 1643</p>			

Among the items in the account against the study occupied by Thomas Parish, which study we are informed was let, on the 29th of the 8th, 1644, to John Beardon, are 1^s 8^d for a "mantle tree," 2^s 6^d for "clay," 10^d for "seeling" and 1^s for "calking." Details are given of the expenditures in the studies occupied by Sir Brewster, Sir Downing, and Samuel Winthrop. The chamber of Mr. Richard Harris was "sieled with cedar round about." It appears, also, that he shared with Thomas Parish certain expenses connected with the chimney, for which he was charged, as follows: "For ye chimney half costs wth Tho Paris so amounts to £1 11^s 10^d." For a key, Harris was charged 8^d. The studies of the high east chamber, Sir Bellingham's study, and the studies of the library chamber are among those the charges for the finish of which are given. For "300 foot of board" used in John Brock's study 18^s were charged. In the high west chamber we have "a note of ye expenses of John Weld about his study and bed." For "dawbing ye sides" he was charged 4^s 6^d. Sir Alcocke was charged 4^d "for window hookes," and 1^s "for plaistring ye study." It is also recorded that he had "a bed-roome which was to him alone." The charge for "whiting, lathing, doore-boards and workmanship of ye

chamber," was "three bushels of mault" which was apparently paid to "Richard ye mason." Among the entries connected with the middle west chamber, we have charges for "laths" and for "dawbing." For a "part of a table and cabin" a charge of 3^s 7^d is made. One study was "let to George Stirk, in 1644, without charging him with ye cabin." For a spring lock a charge of 3^s was made. John Allen was charged 9^s 8^d 1^r "for a part of a cabin belonging to the same study," and 9^s 6^d "for one share of ye chamber." Bradford's study carried with it a "right to a cabin in the great chamber."

Among other entries there is a "table of the income of the studies in Harvard College with their incomes and quarterly rents." From this we can get at the rooms in the building, and it will also aid us in understanding what was meant by the phrases high east chamber, high west chamber, &c. The rooms designated were as follows:—

Imprimis. The senior fellows study in ye great chamber
in ye corner west off ye buttery.

The sizers study over ye porch of that chamber.

The lower east chamber.

Ye study by ye hall.

The middle study next thereto.

The northernmost study in ye same row.

The corner study over against it.

The low chamber westward of this betwixt it and
ye turret.

The study with ye fire in it over this little chamber.

The little study next to it eastward.

In ye east middle chamber,

Ye southernmost study.

The middle study.

The northernmost study in ye same row.

The corner study over against it.

In ye highest east chamber,

Ye southernmost study.

The middlemost study.

The northernmost study.

In ye turret,
 Ye south east study.
 The north east study.
 The north west study.
 The south west study.
 The great chamber next ye library,
 The east study next ye library.
 The west study in ye corner.
 The west study with ye fire.
 The middle west study.
 In ye middle chamber over ye kitchen,
 The southernmost study.
 The middle study.
 The northernmost study.
 The corner study over against it.
 The study in ye chamber east of this over ye larder.
 In ye highest chamber over ye kitchen,
 Ye study with ye fire.
 The middlemost study.
 The corner study next to it.
 The lowest study in ye turret.
 Total Income $\text{£}94\ 11^s\ 8^d$.

President Chauncy entered in this book a memorandum relating to the rents of studies "in Mr Goffe's house," "the old house" and "the old College," from which some information can be derived. The studies referred to were classified according to their quarterly rents, in three classes, yielding, respectively, 6^s 6^d, 5^s 4^d and 2^s 6^d, per quarter.

The following chambers or studies in the College building were included in this list: "The kitchen chamber studies," "The long chamber studies," "The sire study," and "The study at the stairs at the foot of the turret." We also find mention in addition to the rooms in the "Goffe house" and the "old house" of "a study in a loft in yt wch was the school house."

In Book III., p. 41, the Inventory of the College Property in 1654 is recorded. The first College building is

there described as follows: "The building called the old College, containing a hall, kitchen, buttery, cellar, turret and five studies, and therein 7 chambers for students in them, a pantry and small corner chamber, a library and books therein valued at £400."

"Certain orders by the Scholars and Officers of the College to be observed, written 28th March, 1650,"¹ are recorded in the College Books. From these, hints may be gleaned of life in the building, and of the building itself.

The Steward is instructed not to receive "any pay that is useless, hazardful, or importing detriment to the College, as lean cattle to feed, turning over bills to shops, &c., but at his own discretion and peril." The butler and cook are to see that the College utensils "to their several offices belonging, from day to day be kept clean and sweet and fit for use, and they shall at meal times deliver them out as the public service of the hall requireth to the servitor or servitors, who shall be responsible for them until that they return them after meals to the butteries or kitchen; but they are not bound to keep or cleanse any particular scholar's spoons, cups or such like, but at their own discretion."

"And if any scholar or scholars at any time take away or retain any vessel of the College's, great or small, from the hall out of the doors from the sight of the buttery hatch without the butler's or servitor's knowledge, or against their will, he or they shall be punished three pence, but more at the President's discretion if perverseness appear." "The butler and cook shall see that all the rooms peculiar to their offices, together with their appurtenances be daily set and kept in order, clean and sweet from all manner of noisomeness and nastiness or sensible offensiveness. To the butler belongs the cellar and butteries, and all from thence forth to the furthest end of the hall with the south porch; to the cook the kitchen, larder,

¹ Quoted by Quincy, I., p. 582.

and the way leading to his hatch, and the north alley unto the walk."

The accounts of the Steward furnish information as to the means to which students were compelled to resort, in the lack of a circulating medium, to adjust their accounts, and through occasional charges, throw light upon the occupancy and rents of College rooms.

In 1649, Rawson settled his bill with "an old cow" and was allowed for "her hide" and for "her suet and inwards." He was charged 2^s 6^d "for sending for his cow twice, once by Chevers and once by goodman Caine." A charge was made in one instance of 2^s for pasturage of a cow before appraisal. 8^s 6^d was allowed to one student for a sword, and to another, 14^s 6^d for rose water. William Myldmay and Mr. Lyons were credited with £4 5^s for a runlet of sack, while Sir Allerton was credited with £1 8^s for "sack that he brought into College at commencement, and was charged upon the rest of the commencement according to their proportion."

Charges are met with for knives, books, almanacs, cutting hair, Physician's bills, clothing and making apparel, shoes and mending same; for a bedstead, mat and cord, for a spring lock and key, for a casement and other necessities about a chamber. Bills are paid with rye, Indian, wheat, malt, apples, butter; with cows, oxen, sheep, lambs and steers; with quarters of wethers and quarters of lambs; with beef, pork and bacon; with sugar and salt; with wool and sacking. Payments in meat would appear at one time to have become disproportionately large, for the Overseers came to the rescue of the Steward, in 1667, with the following order: "It is ordered likewise that the Steward shall not be enjoined to accept of above one quarter part fleshmeat of any person." Credits are allowed in student's accounts for waiting, monitor work and for work done of various sorts. Rents for rooms are charged. In 1651, Long is charged £3 for the rent "of the study that was Sir

Eaton's, in the chamber over the p'ting room." This was probably in the President's house. In 1652, charges are made for "a new study in the new house" and for a new study in the "pentinary." Mention is made of rooms designated as "gallery rooms." The following entry, in 1651, "Lent to build the gallery in all the accounts or nearly all" would indicate that the policy of procuring advances from the students for work on buildings, in this instance probably for the church, was in vogue at that date. Very little money was used in adjusting the College accounts. Occasionally, however, some student is credited with the payment of coin, thus on the 8th of the 2d month, 1651, Sir Dudley "paid by silver and Indian which was all the Governor would own tho more was demanded as appeareth on the debtor's side."

In the orders promulgated March 28th, 1650, to be observed by the Scholars and Officers of the College, the following is to be found: "Whereas much inconvenience falleth out by the scholars bringing candles in course into the hall, therefore the butler henceforth shall receive at the President's or Steward's hands twenty shillings in money, ten at the thirteenth of September and ten at the thirteenth of December, toward candles for the hall for prayer time and supper, which, that it may not be burdensome, it shall be put proportionably upon every scholar who retaineth his seat in the buttery." Charges for "candels and wood for publick fyre," occur frequently after this date. A credit taken in 1670, for 5^s 3^d for "repairing settles" was undoubtedly for settles in the old building. Not so, however, the charge for "mending the jack" in 1699, nor the charge for "washing and sanding the hall" in 1705, although it is probable that jacks were mended and the hall was sanded in the old building. Forks appear for the first time in the accounts in 1707, and we find, as the commencement dinners grew more elaborate, charges for "turnspit Indians," and for "boating the pewter," the latter phrase referring,

probably, to the transportation of the extra dinner service from Boston.

In the foregoing extracts from contemporaneous publications and the records of the College, I have included all that seemed to me to throw light upon the College building. To these I have added other extracts showing that at a very early date the College was in possession of other dormitories from which rents were received. I have quoted from old account books several entries bearing upon the modes of life of the College students. I propose now to recapitulate what has gone before, to follow the brief life of the old College building up to the time of its collapse, and to add thereto a few words concerning the Indian College.

The first question that suggests itself with reference to the original College building is, where did it stand? In a paper read before this Society, I have already given my reasons for thinking that it stood within the College yard, facing Harvard Street, opposite Holyoke Street.¹ The building was sometimes called the "College building," a title which in a few years was converted into the "old College building." On the whole, however, the College and the building were identical, and Harvard's name was from the first attached to both. The language of the Act of March 13, 1636, is as follows: "It is ordered that the College agreed upon formerly to be built at Cambridge, shall be called Harvard College." Morton in his *New England's Memorial*, says, "Harvard College was erected at Cambridge." Randolph, as we have seen, says it was built "at the charge of Mr. Harvard, and bears his name." Cotton Mather speaks of the new college as "wearing still the name of the old one."²

The date when work was begun upon the building can

¹ When I examined the question of the site of the building, I consulted with Lucius R. Paige, D.D., the historian of Cambridge, and derived great assistance from him. It was my intention to have acknowledged my obligations when that paper went to press. Through inadvertence this acknowledgment was then omitted. ² *Magnalia*, 4th book, Vol. II., page 12, New Haven, 1820.

only be fixed approximately. Eaton was apparently put in charge in 1637. He was removed in 1639. The only money with which he charged himself in his accounts was received from the executor of John Harvard's estate. John Harvard died Sept. 14, 1638. It is probable, therefore, that work was begun on the building in the fall of 1638. It was continued under Shepard's supervision in 1639. In his account there is one date of 1641. There is also a charge against the College for 4,000 boards, in 1642, in Treasurer Tyng's account. Christopher Grant's bill for glass was dated March 5, 1643, while the date of the memorandum of charges for the finish of Bulkley's study was November, 1643, and there are charges against rooms bearing date 1644. Winthrop says that most of the Government of the College were present, in 1642, at the commencement, and dined at commons. Although he does not state that this dinner was given in the College building, this may fairly be inferred from the expression "they dined at the College." From the dates given above, it would seem as if the building must have been used before it was completed, which probably was substantially accomplished in the fall of 1643. Within less than ten years from the time of its completion, the expense of the repairs taxed heavily the college treasury. In the course of another decade the process of decay had so completely got the upper hand that the Corporation and Overseers represented to the General Court that unless the building should be overhauled that summer it would become uninhabitable.¹ In 1677, the fears of the College

¹ Secondly—The College building, although it be new groundfilled by the help of some free contributions the last year, yet those ceasing, and the work of reparation therewith intermitted, it remains in other respects in a very ruinous condition. It is absolute necessity that it be speedily new covered, being not fit for scholars long to abide in as it is. And without such reparation some time this summer, both the whole building will decay, and so the former charge about it will be lost, and the scholars will be forced to depart.

Information given by the Corporation and Overseers to the General Court, 9 May, 1655.

Quincy I., pp. 462, 463.

Mass. Archives, 58, fol. 32, 33.

Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 85, 86.

officers were realized. A portion of the building actually fell down, and it was no longer available for College purposes.¹

Johnson says that the first College building was "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a Wilderness and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg."² When we reflect upon how it was built and especially when we recall the finish of some of the studies, we shall be more likely to sympathize with those who apprehended it was too mean for a College, than to coincide with those who thought it was too gorgeous for a wilderness. Charges in Eaton's account for "felling, squaring and loading lumber," show that he paid for cutting down trees which entered into the construction of the building. The frame was set up in the yard, and apparently before this work was concluded, it was determined that the projected building was on too small a scale, for, in the original account, a charge is entered "for additions to be made to the frame." The bricks used in the chimney, or some of them at least, were made for the College, and the wages of the workmen who made them were paid by the person who had charge of the work.

We have seen that Grant's bill for glass, the table of the income of the studies, the inventory of 1654, and the classified list of rents entered by Chauncy, furnish information concerning the character of the building. If we take this in connection with the items gleaned from contemporaneous publications, from the Steward's account-book and from the charges against the separate studies and chambers, we can deduce the following facts concerning the building:—

In the first place it had a cellar. The charge for excavation appears in Eaton's account, and the cellar itself figures in the Inventory of 1654. There was a kitchen, a buttery and a larder or pantry. There was a fair and spacious hall and a large library. The hall was used for commons as

¹ Records of Massachusetts, V., p. 143.

² Wonder-Working Providence, Poole's Edition, 4^o, p. 164.

well as for recitations and exercises.¹ Some idea of its size may be gained from the fact that most of the Magistrates and Elders who formed the government of the College in 1642, were present at the first commencement and dined with the scholars' ordinary commons. The number of Elders present in 1643, when the Synod met at Cambridge, was about fifty. "They sat in commons and had their diet there, after the manner of the scholars' commons." There were eight chambers in the building. Two of them were small and apparently were intended for use by single students. It will be remembered that Sir Alcocke had a "bed-roome which was to him alone." It was probably one of these small chambers. In each of the large chambers there were three or four studies. Beside the studies in the chambers, there were five studies in the turret. Four of them were designated in the table of the income of the studies, by points of compass and all four were evidently on the second floor. The fifth was called the "lowest study" in the turret and in Chauncy's list is styled "the study at the stairs at the foot of the turret." It requires no great stretch of the imagination to fill up what is wanting in the description of the turret, and thus interpret the meaning of these entries. The main entrance to the building was probably through the turret. The space of the ground floor in that portion of the building was evidently occupied by the staircase which is mentioned in the glazier's bill, and in Chauncy's list; by the passage way leading to the hall; and by "the study at the stairs at the foot of the turret;" the latter being merely the portion of the hall beneath and in the rear of the stairs, which was enclosed and utilized as a study.

What were these studies, of which there were three in some chambers and four in others, whose walls were "dawbed," or "plaistered and whitened," or "seiled with cedar round about?" It is plain that they must have been

¹ New England's First Fruits, Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 242.

very small, and it is possible that the partition which separated them from the chambers did not reach the ceiling.¹ In a volume of the College archives entitled Volume I., Book of Papers, there is a plan for a college building which is attributed to Thomas Prince, in which studies are plotted which were apparently about five feet square. The building of these separate compartments for study connected with rooms in a college building allotted for sleeping purposes, at a time when so great economy had to be practised in every department of life, requires some explanation. It is probably to be found in the fact that similar arrangements existed in the colleges of England. In the account which Anthony Dollaber gives of his arrest in 1528, he says that he determined to spend the whole afternoon until evening time at Frideside College, at his books, in his own study and so, he adds, "I shut my chamber door unto me and my study door also." Again, he says he shut his chamber door and went into his own study.¹⁸ Each student lodged in the first College building at Cambridge, was, like Anthony Dollaber, at Frideside College, provided with his own study, to which he could retire, and although the size of these private rooms must have been exceedingly diminutive, still he was thus furnished with a place where he could be secluded, and carry on his studies without interruption.

In the table of the income of the studies, two are described as having fires in them. Of course these must have been larger than the studies within the chambers and were,

¹ The use of the word study as applied to the small apartments, or closets, having windows in them, partitioned off from the rooms, in Hollis & Stoughton, survived in the Harvard vocabulary until a quite recent period. The partitions of these studies extend to the ceiling, but the studies in the Long Hall at Eton are like those suggested in the text.

Since the meeting at which this paper was read, Mr. Winsor informs me that the original plan of Massachusetts Hall, in 1729, has been discovered. The arrangement of the studies in this plan, little rooms 6½ x 5 feet in dimension, is interesting, and aids in the interpretation of the language used in the table of the income of the studies.

¹⁸ Froese, II., 38-40.

perhaps, full-sized rooms. The situation of these rooms which enjoyed the privilege of a fire was necessarily determined by the chimneys. We find one of them mentioned in the charges against Bulkley. He occupied "the study with the fire, the highest over the kitchen." Where there were several studies in one chamber, the latter must of course have been jointly occupied by the tenants of the several studies. In what chambers the students lodged who occupied the studies in the turret does not appear, but it is probable that provision had to be made for them in the larger chamber. The rule, however, was, that to each chamber as many students were assigned as there were studies. This may be inferred from the following extract from the orders of the Overseers, which were approved in 1667: "In case any shall leave a study in any chamber, wrin some do yet remain, such as remain shall stand charged with ye care of ye vacant studies."

In the chambers were "cabins" or closets which were specifically assigned. Sometimes the cabin assigned to a student was not situated in the chamber where he lodged, thus, Bradford's study carried with it "the right to a cabin in the great chamber." Three of the chambers are designated as the "low east chamber," "east middle chamber," and the "highest east chamber." There were, therefore, three east chambers one over the other. In other words, the eastern end of the building was devoted to lodging rooms. The "low" and the "middle" east chambers each had four studies. On the lower floor the first in order of mention was the study of the hall, then came the middle study in the same row, then the northernmost study, and after that, the corner study over against it.

It is probable that the structure was a two-story building with an attic sufficiently high to admit of rooms being finished off in it. Westward of the low east chamber and "betwixt it and ye turret," was another low chamber, which was also spoken of as a little chamber. The turret

was therefore separated on the ground floor from one end of the building by the width of these two chambers. There were probably on the ground floor, beside these chambers, the hall, the kitchen, the buttery, and the pantry. It may therefore be assumed that the front of the building was broken by a turret in the middle. There was no "highest" chamber or study mentioned in the turret. Perhaps the architectural finish of the turret did not permit a chamber at that elevation. A charge appears in Christopher Grant's bill, for glazing the "lanthorn." The use of this term would seem to point to an ornamental finish of the top of the turret. On the other hand it appears from the records, that, "in 1658, John Willett gave the College a bell which was placed in the turret." From this it may be inferred that there was at any rate an open belfry in the turret. With the detailed enumeration of the rooms given in the table of income of the studies, it would seem as if we could almost trace the footsteps of the person who made up the list, as he passed from room to room and noted down by descriptive title each chamber, and located each study within it. There are, however, difficulties in the vagueness of such phrases as "the corner study over against it," and "the sizers study over the porch of that chamber," etc., which are insuperable. If any meaning can be attached to the title of the "east chamber," it would seem probable that the building must have faced to the north or to the south. If the site of the building be accepted as on the Eaton lot, then it must have faced to the south, towards Harvard Street. The kitchen, buttery, &c., were at the west end, the hall in the middle, and the east end was devoted to chambers.

A comparison of this suggestion as to the plan of the first building with the description of the first Harvard Hall, given in the *Life of Timothy Pickering*,¹ will show that the

¹ The *Life of Timothy Pickering*, I., p. 9. Describing commons life in the new building, he says, "Each scholar carried to the dining table his own knife and fork, and, when he had dined, wiped them on the table cloth."

same general plan was followed in the new building. This we know faced to the south, and we also know that the manner in which the eastern and western wings were occupied was the reverse of that above suggested as probable for the first building, the kitchen and buttery in the new building being in the eastern wing. The glazier's bill is dated 1643. There are charges for finishing the separate studies dated in 1643, and others dated in 1644. It would seem that the building must have been used before it was finished. In that event, perhaps oiled paper was used as a substitute for glass in the windows. If we needed proof that this conjecture was within the range of probability, it is to be found in the statement made by Dankers and Sluyter, that they looked into the Indian College through a broken paper sash.¹ It is even probable that paper was used in the sashes in the College building after Christopher Grant had furnished the glass specified in his bill. The total charges for the glazier's bill amounted to less than £16. The charges for single studies were from one to two shillings each. These sums could hardly have paid for glazing all the windows in the building. It is not unlikely that the sash frames were only partially glazed, use being made of oiled paper for what remained unglazed. It may be urged in opposition to this inference, that a bill, not rendered until the spring of 1644, could hardly have been for the original glazing of the building. The reply to this is, that the bill contains a specific item for repairs, showing that it is not as a whole a bill rendered for work of that character, and further, it is evident that the building was occupied before it was completed, which would undermine the force of any adverse inference drawn from the date of the bill.

The phrase "covered with cedar shingles," as used by Randolph, probably referred merely to the roof. The Overseers, in their petition in 1655, represented that it was absolutely necessary that the building should be "new cov-

¹ *Memoirs L. I. Hist. Soc.*, I., p. 384.

ered." Randolph himself describes the new building as "covered with tiles," an expression that we should naturally limit to the roof. This does not, however, militate against the probability of the sides having been finished in the same way. It was, at that time, a common method of finish employed in Boston. Dankers and Sluyter described the Boston houses in 1680 as "made of thin small cedar shingles, nailed against frames, and then filled with brick or other stuff." Clapboards we know were exported from early times, and in Shepard's account he charges himself with one payment made in clapboards. All we can say is, that the finish may have been either shingles or clapboards.

As we recall the various details which have been suggested by the several documents which we have examined, we can picture to ourselves the rudely constructed little building, two stories high, probably with a gambrel roof and dormer windows in the attic story, its front broken by a projecting turret finished off at the top with a belfry. We can look into the kitchen and see the busy scene as the modest meals were prepared, which were to cost the members of the Synod not above sixpence apiece. The luxury of the turn-spit Indians who tended the commencement dinners, can only be associated with the new building, if we rely exclusively upon the charges in the Steward's account book, but it is not unlikely that the primitive simplicity of the meals which were served to the Synod gave place to luxuries like those indicated in the foregoing charges, even during the life of the first building. We can see the hall with its sanded floor, now in use for religious services, now with tables spread for commons, and again occupied as a recitation room. As the scene of the commons is brought before us, we note that each student receives his sizing of food upon a pewter plate and his beer in a pewter mug. These are delivered by the butler to the servitor, and from the buttery hatch, the former keeps watch to see that no vessels or utensils belonging to the College

are borne from the hall. Forks are as yet unknown at Cambridge, and each student feeds himself with the knife which he carries upon his person.

If we think of the scene in summer, we imagine the students with the windows of their chambers and studies swung open and fastened in position by the "window hooks," enjoying to the full the fresh, cool sea-breeze which sweeps unpolluted across the plain described by Johnson as like a bowling-green. The very defects of the building made it comfortable in warm weather, but when the cold blasts of the winter storms swept through the cracks caused by the shrinking of the timbers as they seasoned, openings disclosed themselves which no caulking or daubing could keep closed, and the scene presented for our consideration is far different. At such times as these, the chambers and studies must have been deserted, and the students must have collected within the settle, where, by the light of the public candle, cowering over the public fire, was to be found the only place where they could, with any sort of comfort, pursue their studies, during the long winter evenings.

Of course a building could not last long, into the construction of which timber entered which was standing upon the stump when the work began.¹ As early as 1647, we find that the repairs upon it had got beyond the financial capacity of the College to meet. In a petition to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Henry Dunster, the President, sets forth the lamentable condition of the building in the following terms:² "Seventhly, seeing the first evil contrivall of the College building there now ensues yearly decay of the roof, walls and foundation, which the study rents will not carry forth to repair." From this time

¹ The frame of the little First Church at Salem has been preserved. The portions which have decayed have been cut out and replaced by sound wood. An inspection of this interesting relic will show how rude the carpenter work of the period was.

² Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 85, 86.

forth until 1677, when it became uninhabitable in consequence of a portion of the building having fallen down,¹ complaints as to its condition and of the annual expenditures required to keep it habitable are frequently encountered.² When Dunster addressed this petition to the Commissioners they had no funds at their command which they could appropriate for College buildings. The position which they held was, however, one of great influence, and their aid had already been invoked in behalf of the College by Samuel Shepard, who, in 1644, proposed a general contribution for the maintenance of poor scholars.³ The petitions of Shepard and Dunster were favorably considered by the Commissioners, and the Towns and General Courts were recommended to make provision for the College.

In 1646, Eliot was at work preaching to the Indians in their own language, and laying the foundation for future work of conversion and instruction.⁴ His success led to the formation in London of the Society for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, which was incorporated in 1649. This Society raised funds for the purposes for which it was organized, and intrusted the distribution of these funds to the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

In 1651, the President and Fellows petitioned the Commissioners for aid, and if we may infer the nature of the request from the character of the reply, these officers not only wanted assistance in the payment of bills for repairs but also some addition to the permanent dormitories of the

¹ Reply to Royal Commission, *Records of Mass.*, V., p. 143.

² See second paragraph in Information to General Court, *Mass. Arch.*, Vol. 58, fol. 32, quoted by Quincy, I., 463.

³ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 17.

⁴ Gookin gives an interesting account of the tact displayed by Eliot in securing the attention of the Indian children. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, I., pp. 172, 173.

Public schools were opened in 1645, at which "Indian children were to be taught freely"—(Winthrop, II., p. 215), and although it was not probable that Indian children would be found who would attend the English town schools without special provision for maintenance, still there was a possibility that there might be some aspirants among them for education.

College. The language used by the Commissioners in their reply is as follows:¹

"By yours of August 27th, we understand that the former College buildings are in a decaying condition and will require considerable charge ere long for a due repair, and through the increase of Scholars, many of them are forced to lodge in the town, which proves many ways inconvenient and will necessarily require an enlargement of your buildings, for which you propound and we have seriously considered whether any help may be had from the collections for the propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians, but cannot find by the Act of Parliament, (now passed) that any such liberty is granted. * * * Yet we now desire Mr. Winslow to inquire the mind of the Corporation therein, ourselves conceiving that the advancement of learning here may also advance the work of Christ amongst the Indians and accordingly out of that stock (as it comes in) should gladly contribute, might we do so without offence."

This was about the time that Johnson wrote his "Wonder Working-Providence," in which he states that the College "is enlarging by purchasing the neighbors' houses." The purchase of the house of Edward Goffe, which stood on Braintree Street, on the lot next west of the College lot, was evidently one of the purchases alluded to by Johnson. The rooms in this building were rented to students and are included in the classified list of rents attributed to Chauncy. The Steward's account-book contains charges in 1652, for "new studies in the new house." There were also rooms rented in Dunster's house, as appears from the charge against Matthews, in 1652, for "the income of the study which was Sir Pelham's, in the chamber above the printing room"; and, as we have seen, there was one study at least "in the building which was the school house." With the College building, the new house and the rooms in the President's house, it seems the accommodations were still insufficient.

¹ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 197.

At the same time that the Commissioners replied to the President and Fellows of the College, as above quoted, that they would contribute for the enlargement of the College from the funds of the Corporation, if they could do so without offence, they cautiously tested the sense of the officers of the Corporation, by the following tentative expression of opinion:¹ "It is apprehended by some that according to the intent of the Act of Parliament an eye may be had in the distributions to the enlargement of the College at Cambridge, whereof there is great need, and furtherance of learning, not so immediately respecting the Indian design, though we fully concur not, yet desire to know what the apprehensions of the honored Corporation are herein."

The honored Corporation evidently did not concur in the apprehensions of those who thought the funds of the Society might be applied for the enlargement of the College without regard to the "Indian design," and through Winslow proposed that six hopeful Indians should be trained up at the College. The Commissioners, in 1653, acquiesced in this proposition, but explained² that "the College being already to straits for the English students we shall be forced to raise some building there for the convenience of such Indians, wherein we shall expend at least one hundred pounds, desiring the building may be strong and durable though plain," and without waiting for further correspondence upon the subject, they immediately thereafter authorized the Massachusetts Commissioners³ to erect a building of one entire room, at the College, for the convenience of six hopeful Indian youths, to be trained up there according to the advice received this year from the Corporation in England, "which room may be two stories high, and built plain but strong and durable, the charge not to exceed one hundred and twenty pounds, beside glass, which may be

¹ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 180.

² Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 299.

³ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 300. Peirce, p. 28, says 1665.

allowed out of the parcel the Corporation hath lately sent upon Indian account. The amount of the appropriation it will be noticed is slightly in excess of the estimated cost reported to the Corporation." On request of the President of the College, the Massachusetts Commissioners were, in 1654,¹ authorized to alter the form of the building, "provided it exceed not thirty feet in length and twenty in breadth."

Thus a building was secured. Occasional references to the number of Indians at Cambridge, which are scattered through the papers from which the foregoing extracts are taken, shows that for several years there were from six to eight Indians present at the school and the College pursuing their studies.² About two-thirds of these appear to have been content with the instruction furnished by the grammar school.³ The other third prosecuted for a while the higher studies of the College, and of these one only had the perseverance to finish the course and take a degree. Gookin speaks of them as becoming disheartened and leaving the grammar school, when "almost ready to enter College."⁴

According to Gookin, the Commissioners constructed a "house of brick" which passed under the name of "the Indian College." It cost, he estimated, at between three hundred and four hundred pounds.⁵ It was large enough for twenty scholars, and was fitted with convenient lodgings and studies. When Gookin wrote, it had "hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the College." All this had come about naturally enough. Chauncy had reaped the reward of Dunster's solicitude on

¹ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 321.

² Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 403, 404, and see also the Annual Accounts, same papers.

³ In the Reply to the Royal Commissioners, it is stated that in 1665 the number present was eight, "one whereof is in the Colledge and ready to commence."

⁴ Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 172.

⁵ Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 176. Quoted by Thomas in his History of Printing, I., p. 240.

account of the decaying College building and the lack of dormitories. The accommodations for six hopeful Indian youth had become adequate for twenty. Chauncy petitioned, in 1656, and again, in 1657,¹ for the privilege of using the vacant rooms. The petition was granted with a proviso that "the said building be by the Corporation secured from any damage that may befall the same through the use thereof." The building having thus become a regular dormitory, we hear no more of it except that the statement is made that the printing office² was opened in it. Special appropriations, in 1664 and 1667, made for the benefit of Chauncy, for his pains in teaching the Indian students,³ show that the building was, perhaps, at those dates, still made use of to some extent for its original purpose.

The record is preserved of a meeting of the Commissioners for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, at which consent was given that the "bricks belonging to the Indian College wch is gone to decay and become altogether useless," should be removed and used for an additional building for Harvard College, provided studies should be furnished rent free in the new building for any Indian who might thereafter be sent to College. It was in pursuance of this consent, and under the foregoing condition that the bricks were sold in 1698 to John Willis, and the proceeds applied in payment for the cellar under the southerly end of the first Stoughton Hall,⁴ a building which shared the fate of the first College building, and the Indian College. It was so poorly constructed that, in 1780, it was found

¹ Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 358, 359.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 176. Hutchinson's Papers, p. 501.

³ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 496 and p. 508.

⁴ The following entry is to be found in the Brattle Book in the Harvard Archives:

"Boston, Dec. 14, 1698.

"Cash paid Mr. Thos. Willis, 10^{lb}, in full (with the bricks &c., of the old Indian College sold him last April by Act of ye Corporation for 20[£]), for making a cellar under ye southerly end of the new building, unless ye corporation shall see meet to allow ym anything further on ye acct. as per Mr. Willis' receipt."

necessary to pull it down. Whether the destruction of this building carried with it the rights of Indian students to studies rent free, is a question which has not been raised.

The interest which attaches to the Indian College is greatly increased by the fact that the building was evidently used as a dormitory for white students during the greater part of its existence. The site of the building is not known. It is conjecturally placed on the plan in Eliot's *History of Harvard College*, in the quadrangle near Gray.¹

One other building erected by the College was contemporaneous with the first College building, viz., the President's house. This is the house of which Dunster says, "The house I have builded upon very damageful conditions to myself, out of love for the College, taking Country pay, in lieu of bills of exchange on England, or the house would not have been built." In 1724, a resolution was passed in the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, with the following preamble: "Whereas, the College is now without any President's house, it being removed when the Massachusetts College was built," &c., &c. This seems to fix the site of Dunster's house.

The temptation to follow the subject further and say something of Stoughton Hall, and of Harvard Hall, is great, but I have already completed the task which I set myself. It was my purpose to add to the published information concerning the early buildings at Cambridge a few new facts gathered from the Harvard Records. The contribution which I have been able to make will not greatly increase the knowledge concerning the early buildings, and the life of the students therein, but if it throws even a little light upon this obscure subject, the work will not have been wasted.

¹ Thomas says, "This building was taken down many years since. It stood not far from the other buildings of the College." *History of Printing*, I., p. 240, note.

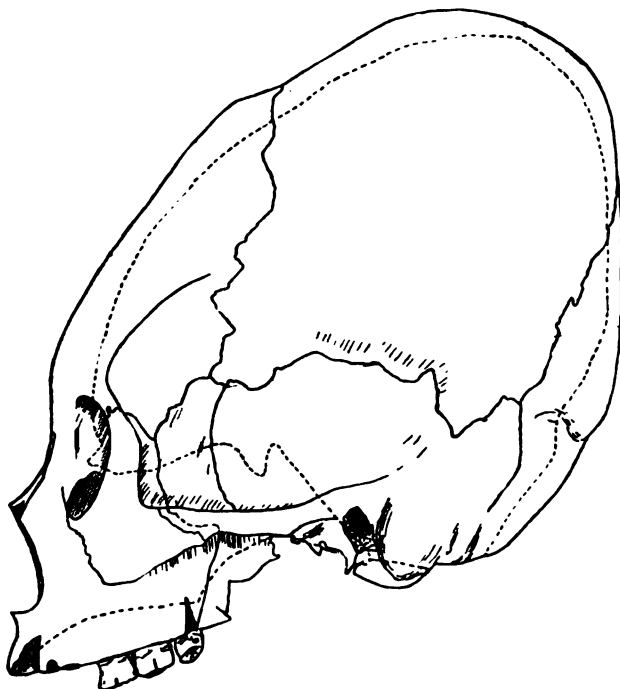
CRANIUM FROM PROGRESO, YUCATAN.

BY FRANZ BOAS.

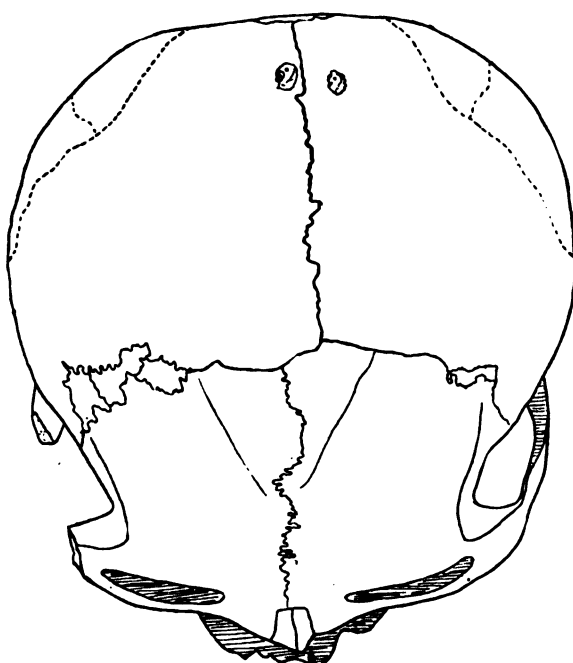
CRANIA from Yucatan are extremely rare, only two having been described heretofore. One has been described by John L. Stephens (*Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, New York, 1843, Vol. I., p. 276 ff.), the other by R. Virchow (*Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, Berlin, 1887, p. 451). A third specimen came into the possession of Mr. Stephen Salisbury a few years ago and is preserved in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. It forms the subject of the following notice. The cranium was presented to Mr. Salisbury by Mr. F. Ybarra, and accompanied by the following letter, dated Mérida, December 9th, 1883 :—

“I send you by this mail a box containing a human skull. The same was given me to-day as a present by Dr. Don Francisco Rubio, who received it from a friend of his in Progreso, in which place it was found while making excavations for the building of a house. Progreso is our port-of-entry. With this relic were found other human remains and some pieces of ancient pottery of little account, according to the information received, because they differed in no way from pieces of the same material found frequently in various parts of the Peninsula. The skull attracted attention on account of its shape, and for this reason the gentleman who had the excavation made, presented it to Dr. Rubio, from whom I readily obtained it in your name as one who has given so many proofs of competency in all that concerns antiquities, and especially our dear Yucatan. We may say that the antiquity of the skull is incontestable, as it comes

CRANIUM FROM PROGRESO, YUCATAN,
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.



1
NORMA LATERALIS. †.



2
NORMA VERTICALIS. †.

from a place in which, according to all information, no permanent town existed. Moreover, on account of the other objects found with this relic, we are led to believe that it comes from the 'Flat-Heads' (*cabezas chatas*). The Reverend Father Carrillo, whom without doubt you know by reputation, makes reference to the Flat-Heads in his 'Ancient History of Yucatan,'¹ explaining the manner in which the ancient Indians proceeded in order to modify the shape of the skull, compressing the heads of the children between two boards. He does not indicate, however, what object they had for this operation, of which he speaks as one of the odd habits of the ancient inhabitants of this country. On the arrival of the skull to-day, the Reverend Father Carrillo, whose opinion is worthy of respect, told me, that, notwithstanding the perfect preservation in which the skull was found, he considered it beyond a doubt that it belonged to an individual of the Flat-Heads, this being the first time that he had had the satisfaction of seeing a complete skull of this tribe or race. Indeed, many endeavors have been made until now, and especially by Dr. Berendt on his various visits to this Peninsula, without his being able to secure more than rather small fragments of skulls of this class, and it has not been possible to obtain complete ones belonging to the Flat-Heads. We cannot help considering the preservation of our relic through so many centuries, very remarkable. It has been observed that on our coast human bodies are frequently mummified in the most perfect manner without any preparation. The reasons for this fact have never been investigated or, better, have never been published. Investigations relating to the human remains of the ancient Indians have always been carried on in the interior of the country, and there these remains have always been found converted into dust. I

¹ *Historia antigua de Yucatan*. Mérida de Yucatan, 1883, p. 277. See Herrera IV., 10, 3.

wish to assure you most definitely that this is the first skull of any Flat-Head, that since a long time has been found entire in these parts. The deformity of the same shows that it is not accidental."

The writer then goes on to propound a theory that the Indians may have practised the custom of deforming the heads of children in consequence of their knowledge of phrenology, "in order to unfold that charitable, mild, pacific character which is distinctive of the type of the Flat-Heads."

I will give here at once the report of the finding of the skull described by Virchow. It was sent to Prof. Virchow by Dr. H. Curschmann of Hamburg, on June 25th, 1887. Dr. Curschmann says, regarding the find: "I received the skull from a gentleman in Mérida, who has unearthed it himself. It was found in one of the mounds that are so numerous in that country, and are ascribed to the aborigines. These mounds are built of earth and stones, their height [and size?] is said to vary according to the importance of the person buried in them. They contain in addition to the bodies, vessels of earthenware, clay figures and stone axes. A clay mask, arms and legs were found with the present skull. * * * The bodies are said to have been buried without having been enclosed in a coffin. The heads, however, were covered with clay vessels, specimens of which are very difficult to obtain, as the natives break them, whenever they find them, probably on account of some unknown superstition. The skull was unearthed on the Peninsula of Yucatan, between Mérida and Cape Catoche [about 88° W. L. Greenw.]."

The cranium described by Stephens was found in the ruins of Ticul, about thirty miles south of Mérida. Following is an abstract of his report of the find and a description of the cranium: We opened a large structure, with sides four feet high, the top being covered over with earth and stones bedded in it. It stood in a small cornfield mid-

way between two high mounds which had evidently been important structures, and from its position, seemed to have some direct connection with them. Unlike most of the ruined structures around, it was entire, with every stone in its place, and probably had not been disturbed, since the earth and stones had been packed down on the top. * * * In digging down, the Indians found the inner side of the outer wall, and the whole interior was loose earth and stones, with some layers of large flat stones, the whole very rough. * * * We continued the work six hours, and the whole appearance of things was so rude that we began to despair of success, when, on prying up a large flat stone we saw underneath a skull. * * * The skeleton had no covering or envelope of any kind, the earth was thrown upon it as in a common grave, and as this was removed it fell to pieces. It was in a sitting posture, with its face towards the setting sun. The knees were bent against the stomach, the arms doubled from the elbows, and the hands clasping the neck or supporting the head. The skull was unfortunately broken, but the facial bone was entire with the jaws and teeth, and the enamel on the latter was still bright, but when the skull was handed up, many of them fell out. * * * The position of this skeleton was not in the centre of the sepulchre, but on one side, and on the other side of it was a large, rough stone or rock firmly imbedded in the earth, which it would have taken a long time to excavate with our instruments. In digging round it and on the other side, at some little distance from the skeleton, was found a large vase of rude pottery, resembling very much the cantero used by the Indians now as a water-jar. It had a rough, flat stone lying over the mouth so as to exclude the earth, on removing which we found that it was entirely empty, except some little hard black flakes. * * * It had a small hole worn in one side of the bottom, through which liquid or pulverized substances could have escaped.

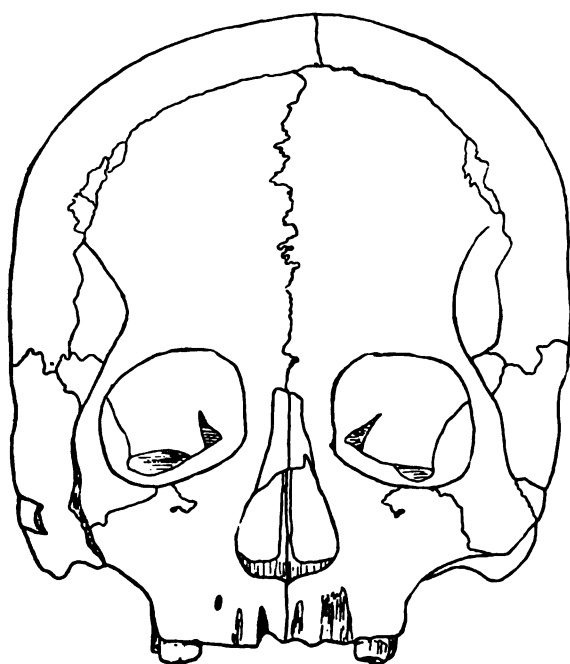
Morton, to whom the remains were submitted, describes

them as follows [Ibid. p. 281]: "The bones are those of a female. Her height did not exceed five feet three or four inches. The teeth are perfect and not appreciably worn, while the epiphyses have just become consolidated and mark the completion of the adult age. The bones of the hands and feet are remarkably small and delicately proportioned, which observation applies also to the entire skeleton. The skull was crushed into many pieces, but the posterior and lateral portions were reconstructed. The occiput is remarkably flat and vertical, while the lateral or parietal diameter measures no less than five inches and eight-tenths (147mm.). A chemical examination of some fragments of the bones proves them to be almost destitute of animal matter. * * * * On the upper part of the left tibia there is a swelling of the bone, called in surgical language a node, one and one-half inches in length, and more than half an inch above the natural surface. This morbid condition may have resulted from a variety of causes, but possesses greater interest on account of its extreme infrequency among the primitive Indian population of the country."

I shall give here the measurements of the skull described by Virchow and of the new skull, side by side. The lower jaws of both of them are missing. The former skull which I will designate as No. 1, is that of a male, while No. 2, the skull in the possession of Mr. Salisbury, is that of a female.

	No. 1.	No. 2.
Capacity - - - - -	1380ccm.	1250ccm.
Maximum Length - - - - -	173mm.	170mm.
Maximum Width - - - - -	156p "	148p "
Vertical Height - - - - -	131 "	130 "
Height [Basion-Bregma] - - - - -		135 "
Length of Basis - - - - -	105 "	91 "
Width of Basis - - - - -	108 "	118 "
Length of Pars Basilaris - - - - -		23 "
Length of Foramen Magnum - - - - -		31 "
Width " " " " - - - - -		27 "
Occipital Width - - - - -	111 "	98 "

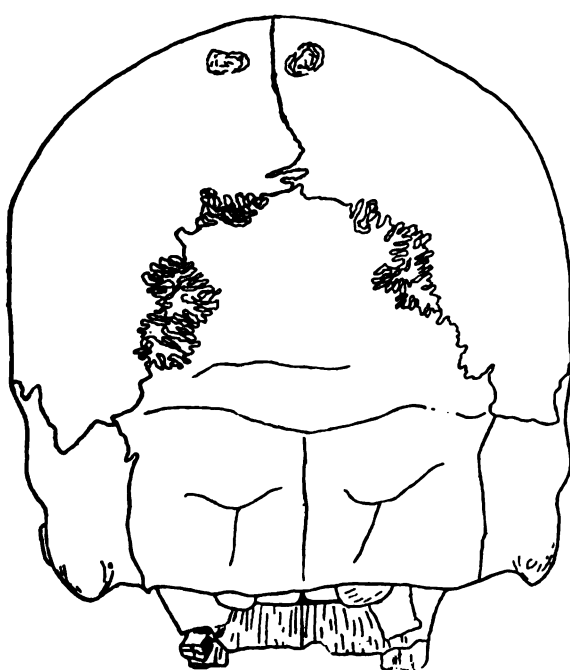
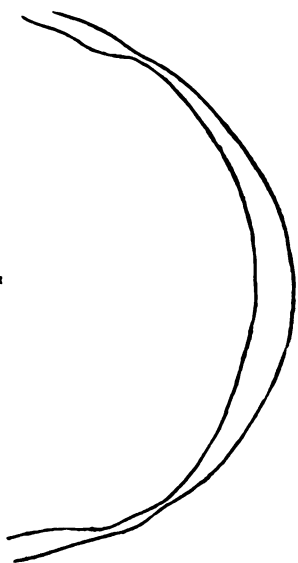
CRANIUM FROM PROGRESO, YUCATAN,
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.



3
NORMA FRONTALIS. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Cross section through cranium, through a point 2 cm. in front of bregma and through the centre of the Wormian bodies in the coronal suture. \times .

5



4
NORMA OCCIPITALIS. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Minimum Width of Forehead - - -	98mm.	87mm.
Horizontal Circumference - - -	505 "	463 "
Sagittal Circumference of Forehead -	120 "	119 "
" " " Parietal Bones	115 "	121 "
" " " Occipital Squama	114 "	110 "
" " " Head	349 "	350 "
Height of Face - - - -	71 "	66 "
Jugal Width of Face - - - -	142 "	(140) "
Orbita, Height - - - -	34 "	35 "
" Width - - - -	40 "	38 "
Nose, Height - - - -	53 "	51 "
" Width - - - -	26 "	27 "
Distance of Lachrymal Points - - -		25 "
External Edges of Orbits - - -		97 "
Palate, Length - - - -	55 "	49 "
" Anterior Width - - - -		36 "
" Posterior Width - - - -	41 "	45 "
Length of Face - - - -	119 "	99 "

INDICES.

Cephalic Index - - - -	90.2	
Length: Height Index - - - -	75.7	
Facial Index [Jugal Width:Height] -	50.0	47.1
Orbital Index - - - -	85.0	90.9
Nasal Index - - - -	49.0	52.9

I have not computed the cephalic index of the second skull, as the deformation is too great. The individual seems to have been a young adult female. The molars, the only teeth that remain, are well preserved, not being worn down by long use. The spheno-basilar synchondrosis is perfectly closed. The last molar on the right side has not developed, so that there are only five teeth left. The zygomatic arch of the right side and portion of the maxillary bone are broken. There are slight defects on the occipital squama, particularly at the foramen magnum. The right orbit, the lachrymal grooves and the inner nose are damaged. Large parts of the cranium, particularly the left parietal and the adjoining parts of the frontal bone are covered with a thick incrustation, which, on being heated, gives a strong smell of animal matter. It seems to consist mainly of carbonate of lime. The bone also contains a considerable amount of animal matter. As the skull is un-

doubtedly old, it seems probable that the tissues were mummified, as has been suggested by Mr. Ybarra. The figure shows that the skull is very much deformed, far more so than the skull described by Virchow, who states "that the forehead (of No. 1) is much flattened, the upper part being pressed backward; the tubera have disappeared. The upper part of the occipital squama is so flat that the cranium can be made to stand on it." The flatness of the occiput in the skull No. 2 is very remarkable. The skull is small and in most parts thick. Near the bregma an extensive hyperostosis is found which seems to extend a little behind the coronal suture, which has somewhat the appearance of a deep groove. The hyperostosis forms a triangular, median elevation on the forehead. Its limits on the parietal bones are not well defined. The hyperostosis has somewhat an ivory appearance. Small exostoses are found surrounding both parietal foramina. Their surfaces are rough. The left one has a diameter of about 1.3cm., the right of 1.5cm. All the sutures that are normally open in the young adult are still open. The frontal suture is also open through its whole length. The forehead is narrow, particularly considering the fact that the frontal suture is open. On the right side, a large Wormian body is found in the central part of the coronal suture which appears depressed at this place. Probably a similar body exists on the left side, but it is not clearly visible on account of the incrustation. The skull is remarkably thin at the coronal suture. [Fig. 5.] The occipital squama is paraboloid; the frontal suture is 1cm. to the right of the sagittal suture. Occipital protuberance large. Pars basilaris uneven. Plane of foramen magnum intersects about the centre of the apertura pyriformis. Palate flat and wide; processus alveolaris low, prognathous. No tuberositas malaris. Lower edge of nose sharp, cross section of nose very flat, upper end 8mm. wide; nasal bones 23mm. long. No depression at root of nose. Opening of nose wide, oval. Orbit rounded. Dis-

tance between temporal and frontal bones on left side 5mm. Ear round. Processus mastoidei small. Incisuræ mastoideæ shallow.

It is a remarkable fact that the skull described by Virchow has the same hyperostosis as we find in this skull. It has also been found in crania from Peru. The horizontal length of the skull measured from the glabella is 160.5mm; the corresponding cephalic index is 92.2. On the whole the two crania seem much alike, and appear to be similar to the better known forms of Mexico and Peru.

- Fig. 1. Cranium from Progreso; Norma lateralis, $\frac{1}{3}$.
Fig. 2. " " " Norma verticalis, $\frac{1}{3}$.
Fig. 3. " " " Norma facialis, $\frac{1}{3}$.
Fig. 4. " " " Norma occipitalis, $\frac{1}{3}$.
Fig. 5. " " " Cross section through a point
1.5 cm in front of the bregma and through the Wormian bodies of the coronal suture, $\frac{1}{3}$.

COPIES OF MAYA POTTERY AND IMPLEMENTS.

Given by EDWARD H. THOMPSON, U. S. A. Consul at Mérida.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT, MR. SALISBURY.

Early in the month of April, I received from our associate Edward H. Thompson, Esq., U. S. A. Consul at Mérida, Yucatan, a crate containing plaster casts, moulded and colored by him, of original Maya vases, pottery, and obsidian and flint instruments, either found by Mr. Thompson in excavating at Labná, Ticul and elsewhere in Yucatan, or copied, by permission, from much valued objects belonging to the Museo Yucateco at Mérida. The collection of plaster casts is very interesting from the fact that many of the originals are highly prized in Yucatan, and that the copies are so well executed and colored that only an expert could detect the fact that they were copies only. They number twenty-two pieces in all, and by the kindness of our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, who has photographed the collection, I am able to show the character of the group to the Society. Each article is carefully labelled, and the gift comprises—

Vessel found in a Mound near the hacienda of Tabi.

Vessel found in Mound 6, Grave 5, Ruins of Labná, Yucatan.

Vessel found in Mound 6, Grave 6, Ruins of Labná. Original in Peabody Museum.

Small Idol found in Mound at Oñam, Yucatan.

Head of Small Idol found near Ruins at Labná, Yucatan.

Jar found in Mound 6, Grave 4, Ruins of Labná, Yucatan. Original and plan in Peabody Museum.

Vessel taken from Mound, Yucatan. Bishop collection.

Vase, Ruins of Yucatan. Original in Museum. Mérida, Yucatan.

Vase exhumed from a Mound near Tabi, Yucatan. Original in Peabody Museum.

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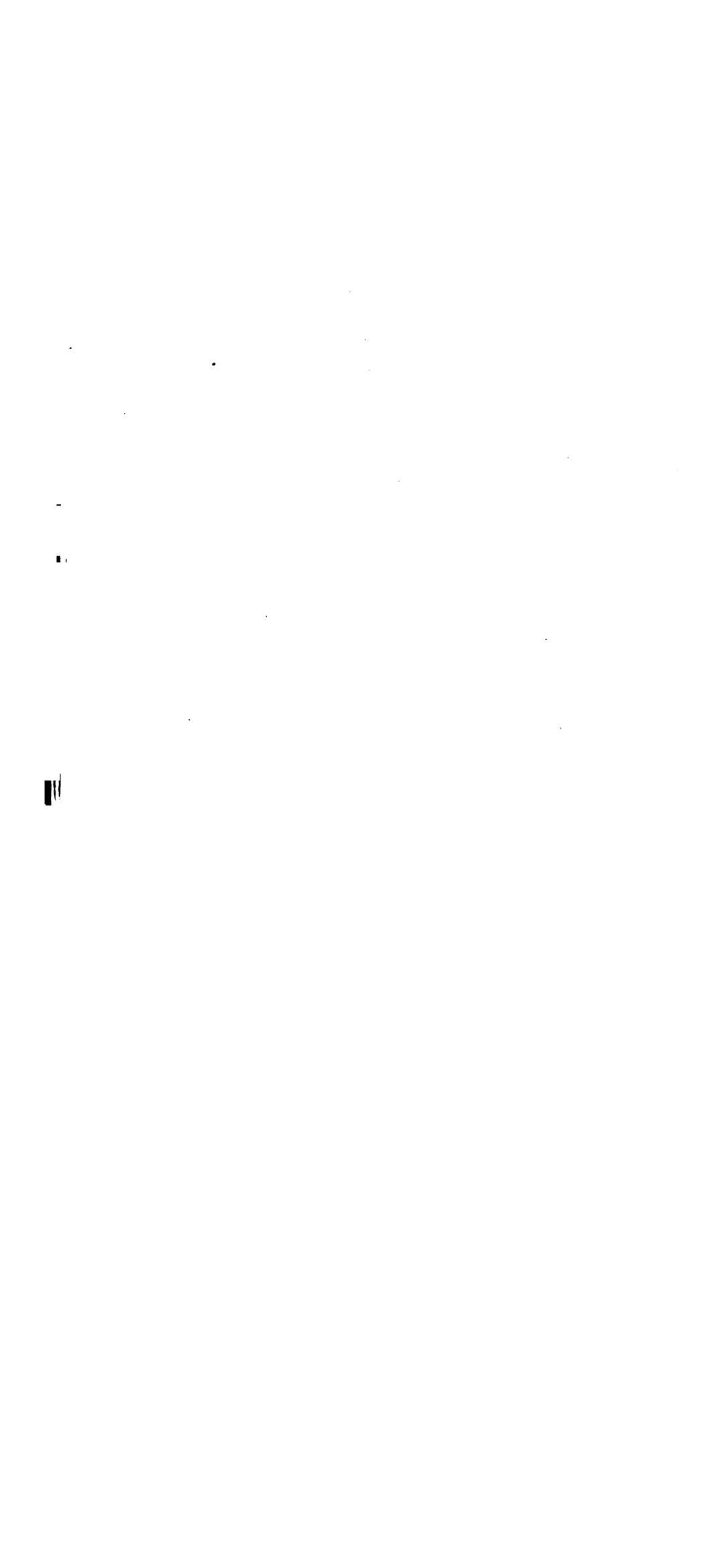


CASTS OF MAYA POTTERY AND IMPLEMENTS.

MADE AND PRESENTED BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

Engraved Vase found in Grave 2, Mound 6, Ruins of Labná, Yucatan.
 Flint Battle-axe found in a grave near Tepanto, Yucatan.
 Ancient Vase taken from Mound near ———, Yucatan.
 Ancient Vase. Ruins of ———, Yucatan. Original now in Museum, Mérida, Yucatan.
 Ancient Vessel of Yucatan. Ruins, Aké.
 Ancient Vessel exhumed near Ruins of Chichen-Itza. Original in Museum, Mérida, Yucatan.
 Ancient Vase found in a Mound near Ticul, Yucatan. Mérida Museum.
 Jar taken from Mound near ———, Yucatan.
 Obsidian Battle-axe Point taken from Mound in Yucatan.
 Bowl-shaped Vessel found in Grave 3, Mound 6. Labná. Original in Peabody Museum.
 Ancient Vessel taken from a Mound in Yucatan.
 Ancient Jar found near Grand Mound at Izamal, Yucatan.
 Shallow Vessel found in Grave 2, Mound 6, Ruins of Labná, Yucatan. Original in Peabody Museum.

Accompanying this collection was a letter from Mr. Thompson requesting me to present this collection to the Society, and hoping that it would arrive in time to be exhibited at the April meeting.





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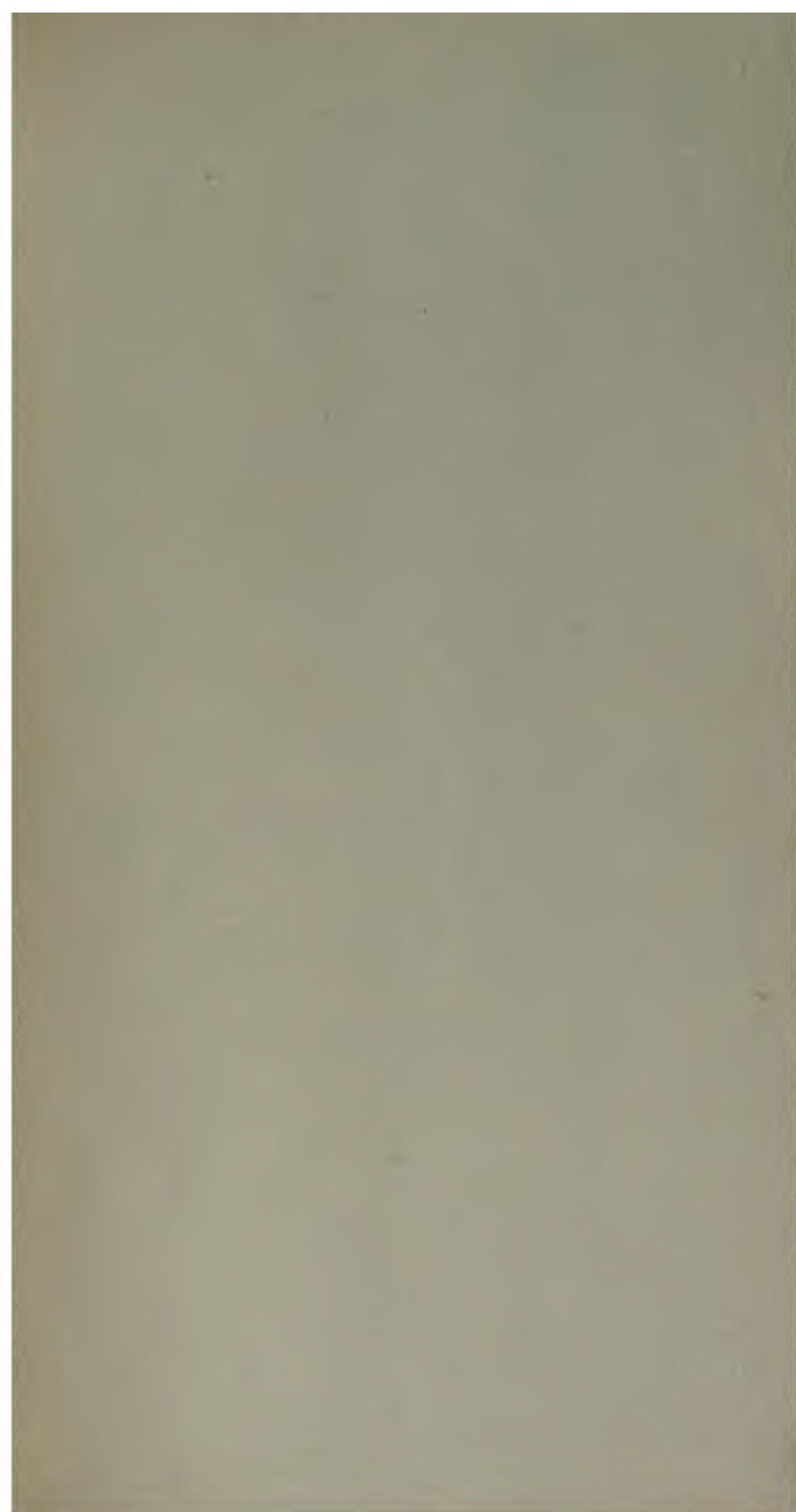
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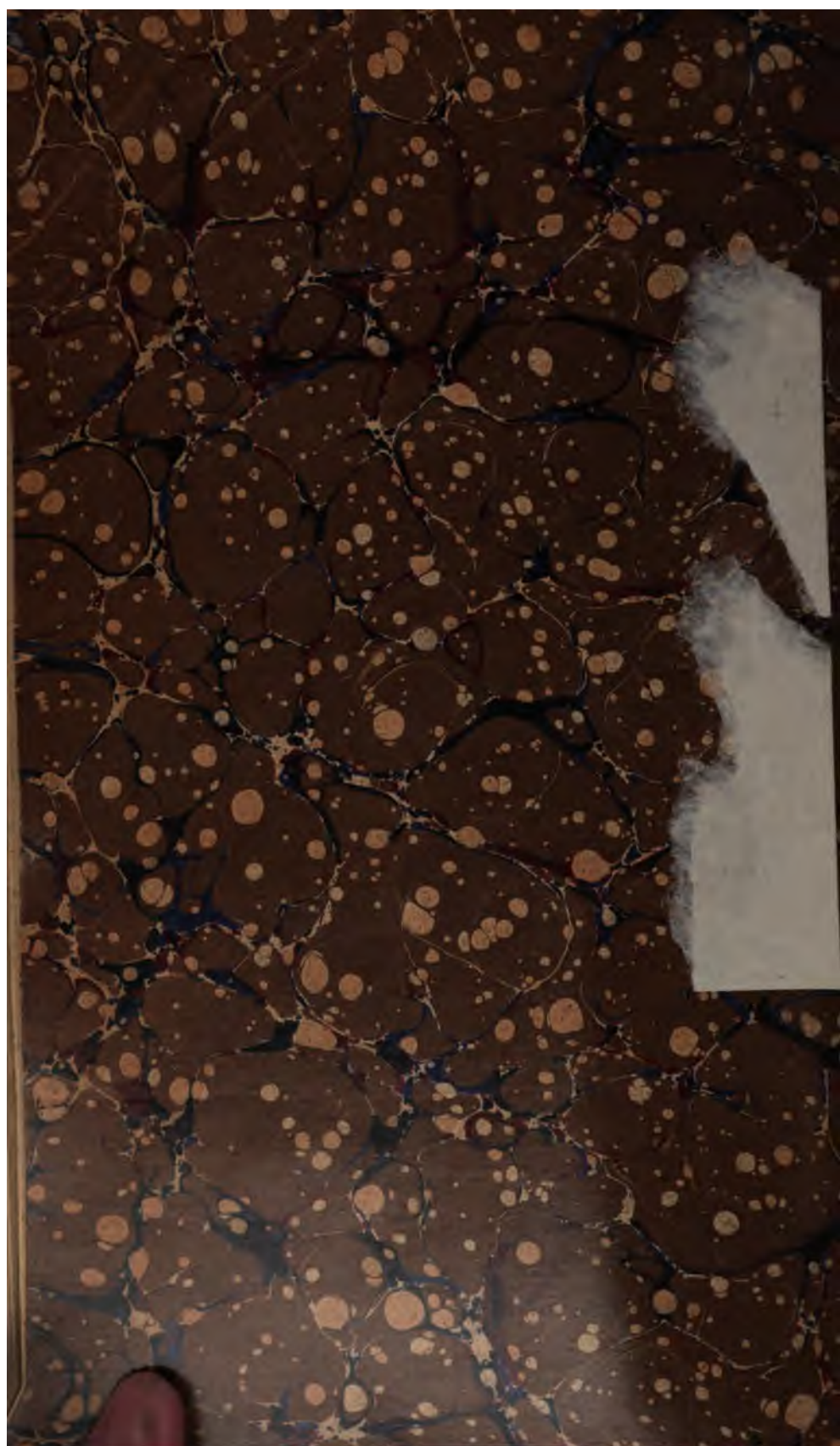


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